THE MARRIED LIFE OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA.

THE

MARRIED LIFE

OF

ANNE OF AUSTRIA,

QUEEN OF FRANCE, MOTHER OF LOUIS XIV.

AND

DON SEBASTIAN, KING OF PORTUGAL.

Historical Studies.

FROM NUMEROUS UNPUBLISHED SOURCES,

INCLUDING MS. DOCUMENTS IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE, AND THE ARCHIVES OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BY

MARTHA WALKER FREER,

Author of "The Life of Marguérite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre;" "The Life of Jeanne d'Albret;" "The Court and Times of Henry III., King of France and Poland;" "The Life of Henri Quatre," &c., &c.

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THE

MARRIED LIFE OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA.

CHAPTER I.

1637.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND THE CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU.

The year 1637 opens an important and mysterious era in the married life of Anne of Austria. It is the period of her most flagrant treason against her husband's realm; of her reconciliation with the Cardinal de Richelieu; and of the hope which transported France, and which was realised during the following year, by the birth of Louis Quatorze.

Europe, during the year 1637, continued convulsed with warfare: every realm seemed shaken to its foundation. The invasion of Germany by Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, in the year 1630, in behalf of the Protestant Princes of Germany, and to serve the cause of the dethroned Elector Palatine, had moved every nation. Spain, united to the Empire by close family ties and political sympathies, threw in her lot with the Emperor Fer-

dinand II. Soon the war had assumed the terrible aspect of a conflict waged between the Protestant Powers of Europe, allied with France, against the orthodox and potent Empires of Spain and Austria. The invasion of the Swedes occurred during the first session of the Diet of Ratisbon, to which the envoys of France, the able diplomatist Brulart, and the astute Capuchin father, Joseph de Tremblay, had been sent by Richelieu to negotiate a peace between France, the Empire, and the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy; or to oppose, by every artifice, the election of the Emperor's eldest son as King of the Romans. The desired pacification was obtained: Casale was to be surrendered. The Emperor, moreover, in his anxiety to secure the promise of the imperial dignity for his son, disbanded, at the solicitation of a majority of the Electors, a part of that vast army under his renowned general, Albert de Wallenstein, Duke de Friedland, which held the rebellious princes in check; and might have arrested the victorious advance from Pomerania of King Gustavus Adolphus.* The Swedish armies laid siege to Stettin, which was soon taken at the point of the sword, and the town given up to pillage: the members of the Diet thereupon, retired in dismay from Ratisbon, without proceeding to the much-coveted election.

France, meanwhile, had been at war with the

* Harte's History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, t. 1. Galeazzo, Hist. delle Guerre di Ferdinando II. e III. contro Gostavo-Adolfo Re di Suetia, e Luigi XIII. Re di Francia.

Emperor, and the King of Spain since the year 1626, concerning the succession to the Duchy of Mantua. The old policy of Henri Quatre, therefore, presented itself with double zest to Louis XIII. and his minister:—alliance with the Protestant Powers of Europe, to bring about the humiliation of the overgrown power of Spain; to wrest the Empire from the Hapsburgs, Archdukes of Austria, by causing the election of a King of the Romans from among the princes of another dynasty; to moderate the pretensions of the Papacy; to confer the power of supreme nomination to ecclesiastical benefices on the rulers of the various countries of Europe; and to abolish the faculty of appeal to Rome in disputed cases concerning temporalities. The Great Henry projected this political revolution, while holding the Calvinists of the realm in strict subjection. Richelieu ventured a step further: he crushed "*les religionnaires*;" drove with a strong hand their allies from the coast of France; resumed possession of their cities of refuge; annulled the charters of La Rochelle and other powerful cities; and whilst the Calvinists cowered before the *prestige* of the crown, the able minister, to exalt the power of France abroad, joined their foreign allies, to effect in other countries the reforms which he had so sternly repressed at home. In 1628 the Valteline was rescued from papal domination, and restored to liberty; and in 1631, two years after La Rochelle fell at the feet of Richelieu, the alliance between the Protestant crown of Sweden

with the Catholic realm of France, was concluded, for the overthrow of the Imperial House, and the reform of the Germanic Confederation. The treaty between France and Sweden was signed January, 1631, at the camp of Berwalt, in Brandenburg: the plenipotentiaries who ratified this astonishing alliance were M. de Charnecé, on behalf of France; and Horn, Maréchal de Camp of the Swedish forces, and Bannier, their famed general of infantry.* The articles stipulated an alliance offensive and defensive between the two crowns; that the King of France should furnish for the service of the war an annual subsidy of one million of livres;† that the invading army should always be maintained at a complement of thirty thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry. Finally, that the Roman Catholic religion should be respected; and that no wilful spoliation of cathedrals, monasteries, and church treasures should be permitted. England joined the allies; Denmark wished well to the forces of the gallant realm, her neighbour; and thus was inaugurated that contest known under the familiar designation of the Thirty Years' War. France fought well and bravely in the contest; the success of the Scandinavian monarch was unparalleled; victory followed his banners: in vain Tilly, Wallenstein, Montecuculi, and the Emperor himself, sought to

* Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus, t. 1, p. 231.

† Equivalent to 100,000 crowns, as stated in the treaty of Berwalt.

arrest his progress. Complete religious and political freedom seemed about to dawn on Germany: in the space of two years Gustavus Adolphus gained thirty battles, and took two hundred towns; no limit, therefore, could be prescribed to the prowess of a conqueror so mighty. Richelieu thereupon began to reflect: the war approached the Alsatian frontier; and possibly the Swedish hero might long to test his veteran soldiers against the world-renowned chivalry of France. When Germany lay prostrate, Richelieu argued—might not the Imperial banner be again raised from the dust by the hero; and Gustavus Adolphus, become the ally of the Emperor Ferdinand, lead his legions over the frontier, and dictate the pacification of Europe from Paris? Long did Richelieu and his two confidants, the Capuchin and Dominican fathers, Joseph de Tremblay, and Carré, ponder over a glory that eclipsed the exploits of the minister in Piedmont and Montferrat; and which reduced the much-lauded conflict of the Pass of Susa into an ignoble skirmish, when compared to the mighty victories of Gustavus. The jealousy of the Cardinal did not long ferment: on the 6th day of November, 1632, the gallant King fell on the plains of Lutzen, in the very arms of victory. Gustavus received two mortal wounds from the hand, it was rumoured, of an assassin, who himself died from the pistol of an officer mysteriously at hand to avenge the assassination. Later, the body of this personage was likewise found extended on the battle-field, mutilated

by sabre wounds.* France then rallied from her panic: in the preceding month Montmorency had suffered the penalty of treason; the rebel league with Spain, cemented by the boyish resentment of Monsieur, was dissolved on the field of Castelnaudari. Monsieur, penitent, as has been before related, so long as the rod was suspended over his head, soon regretted his concessions, and fled again from the realm. The flight of Orleans gave Richelieu opportunity for completing the annexation of the duchy of Lorraine. Nancy was invested, and garrisoned by French troops; the Duke, after a hasty abdication in favour of the Cardinal his brother, fled to Besançon, and joined a division of the Imperial army under Montecuculi. On the plains of Lombardy the French armies encountered the Spanish forces with varying success; and but few notable achievements gave lustre or renown to the contest. The King's generals were Marshal de Crequi and the Cardinal de la Valette, the brother of the famous Duke d'Epernon, who was renowned rather for his military capacity, than known as a prince of the Church, and Cardinal Archbishop of Toulouse. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus,

* Harte, t. 1. Galeazzo, Hist. delle Guerre di Ferdinando II. The name of the officer who gave the mortal wound to the great Gustavus was Maurice Falkenberg. The Duke of Saxe Lauenburg was suspected as the contriver of the base assassination.—Vie du Père Joseph de Tremblay.

commanded the French contingent in Germany; and the war continued to rage with varied success, Bannier, the most renowned of the Swedish generals, having the command in chief of the forces. In 1633, Heidelberg was taken by the Swedes; and in September of the same year a Spanish army, under the Duke de Feria, entered Germany, and joined the Imperial forces—Feria having first escorted the new governor of the Low Countries, the Cardinal Infant Don Ferdinand,* to Brussels.

In this year the Archduchess Infanta Isabel † died, without posterity, and according to the terms of the will of her father, Philip II. King of Spain, the sovereignty of the Low Countries reverted to the Spanish crown. Ferdinand had great influence with his sister, Queen Anne of Austria, and was her frequent correspondent; and after his arrival in Brussels, most of Anne's private correspondence with Spain passed through his hands. Queen Marie, meantime, on the decease of the Infanta, quitted Brussels and retired to Spa, paying a visit *en route* to the Prince and Princess of Orange at Bolduc. Monsieur, however, remained the guest of the Archduke Ferdinand, fretting at the life of inaction and self-denial which his exile entailed, tenaciously re-

* Brother of the Queen of France, towards whom Anne showed extraordinary attachment.

† Daughter of Philip II. and of Elizabeth de Valois. She was a princess of sagacity and piety, and was greatly venerated by her subjects, and by her kinsmen of Spain. The Archduchess Infanta is interred in the church of Ste. Gudule of Brussels.

senting fancied affronts to his high dignity, at variance with the Queen-mother, and becoming weary of the society of his estimable, but inert consort, whose beauty had now lost its influence over his capricious heart. Meantime the great battle of Nordlingen, gained by the armies of Spain and the empire over the forces of France and her allies, September 6, 1634, seemed to awaken again the patriotism of the Duke—or perhaps, gave him opportunity for the step which he had long meditated, his return to France; an event earnestly desired by Richelieu, who felt the necessity of making concessions to a Prince, who might any day hear himself saluted as King of France. The Duke, as the price of this concession had asked for the recognition of his marriage with Marguerite de Lorraine. Louis offered to submit again the question of the legality of this marriage to the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the realm; and in case their decision was adverse, to indemnify the Princess, to create her a duchess, and not to compel Monsieur to marry again against his inclination. The Duke accepted this proposition; being nevertheless firmly resolved to maintain the validity of his union with Madame, which he regarded as a master-stroke of defiance to the will of Richelieu. Monsieur also asked for the payment of his debts. Louis generously presented his brother with the sum of 400,000 livres for that purpose. Moreover it was stipulated, that all the Duke's

revenues should be restored, with the donation of a further sum of 160,000 crowns for his immediate equipment. The government of Auvergne was also to be conferred on Monsieur, to indemnify him for the loss of that over the Orléanois which had been forfeited after the late rebellion.*

Content, as he well might be, with these munificent stipulations, Monsieur, without taking leave of his wife, fled from Brussels on the 12th of September and repaired to St. Germain; where the brothers interchanged a fraternal embrace, Gaston taking Heaven to witness that he would be a true and faithful subject, and a sincere and cordial ally of M. le Cardinal. The following day his Eminence regaled the returned prodigal by a sumptuous banquet at Ruel, of which the Duchess d'Aiguillon was queen. From Anne of Austria, Monsieur met with a cool reception. His marriage, and his subsequent persistence in his union with Marguerite de Lorraine, dissipated any influence which he had exercised over the mind, and conduct of the Queen. In Monsieur, Anne now beheld the married heir-presumptive, ready on the demise of his brother and King to seize her crown, and transfer it to his own consort. More than ever Anne deplored her childless condition: and lamented that in spite of her prayers, offerings,

* Articles de l'accommodement de M. le Duc d'Orléans avec le Roy son Frère, etc.– Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu. t. 2, p. 232.

and vows, after twenty-two years of wedlock, the blessing appeared further than ever from attainment. The alienation between Anne and her husband had become more confirmed, if less visibly demonstrated. Louis, refreshed by the differential homage of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, or de Hautefort, cared not for another companion. Anne, with her fair beauty, her consciousness of her charms, her petulant and derisive wit, her determined self-will, and her Spanish inclinations, had become hateful, and sometimes even terrible, to the King. Alone in his solitary chamber, Louis loved to be at peace, to avoid the trouble and fatigue of kingly rule, and to abandon himself to melancholy musings, and to the alleviation of his frequent, and painful maladies. The excitement of a camp, of a review, of a military progress, alone had power to dissipate his Majesty's constitutional langour.

The military events of the year 1635 were adverse for France ; notwithstanding incredible efforts on the part of the government, reverses met the allies everywhere. The French had three armies on foot in Germany ; one of 12,000 men under Marshal de Feuquières, and the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar; the second *corps de bataille*, under Cardinal de la Valette, was destined to march for the rescue of the Palatinate, Heidelberg having again fallen ; the third army, under Marshal de la Force, kept guard on the frontiers of Alsace. In Italy, Louis had an army of 12,000 men and 2000 horse, under the Marshal

de Crequi; in the Valteline the French soldiers numbered 1200 men, and 800 horse; in Provence and Languedoc, and in Lorraine, large bodies of troops were quartered. With such forces in the pay of France, in addition to heavy subsidies to the allies of the crown, well might King Louis exclaim, in a despatch to the Marshals de Chatillon and de Brezé, "Judge, Messieurs, therefore, whether it is possible for me—I having to support alone the cost of such great armies—to raise other reinforcements for my allies. Such armies as mine ought to draw to me all the forces of the said allies!"* The most energetic measures, nevertheless, were necessary: Richelieu beheld with horror the progress of the Imperialists, and the slender chance which existed that the Duke of Saxe Weimar would be able to defend the frontiers from invasion. Spain threatened Provence and Languedoc; the Imperial armies were marching into Champagne and Picardy; the Duke of Lorraine prepared to attack his confiscated duchy; all the resources of Spain and the Empire seemed united to invade France, and thus deprive the great Protestant League of her chief ally. In the midst of this suspense the fortress of Philipsburg was taken. Utter panic thereupon prevailed throughout the kingdom, as treasures and abundant military stores fell into the hands of the enemy. The Marshals de la Force and the Duke d'Angoulême were sent into Lorraine to intercept the advance of

* Aubéry, t. 2.

the Imperial general, Gallas,* on the cities of Toul, Metz, and Verdun; while the King himself marched to the frontiers of the duchy. Crequi meanwhile entered the Milanese, and laid siege to Valenza. A victory soon after gained by the Duke of Lorraine over the troops under La Force, and the news of the capture of the city of Trèves by the Spanish commander-in-chief of the forces in the Low Countries, completed the national despondency. The gallantry of the Cardinal Infant, governor of the Low Countries and brother of Queen Anne, eminently contributed to the success of the war. The French received another repulse in Italy; where Crequi, with his allies, the Dukes of Savoy and Parma, was compelled to raise the siege of Valenza, and retreat before the victorious arms of the Marquis de Alada and Don Carlos Coloma. This disastrous year terminated by the assemblage of a second Diet in Ratisbon by the victorious Emperor; and by the triumphant election of his son as King of the Romans, who had married the sister of the consort of Louis XIII.

France, menaced by invasion from every quarter of her territory, concluded alliance, offensive and defensive, February, 1635, with the States of Holland against Spain, and had thus directly challenged that potent monarchy. The treaty was elaborate,

* Mathias, Count Gallas or Galasso, a native of the district of Trent. Count Gallas died 1646. He held supreme command at the battle of Nordlingen.

and calculated to exasperate King Philip and his minister Olivarez. Louis actually therein divided the Netherlands with his Dutch allies; the share of territory to fall to France in case of victory being Luxembourg, the counties of Artois, Namur, Hainault, Flanders, and the Cambresis! The answer of Spain to this challenge was the inroad of a formidable army, early in the year 1636, under Prince Thomas of Savoy, Piccolomini, and Jean de Wert, on the province of Picardy. La Capelle Châtelet and the town of Corbie were captured; and the road to Paris opened for the advance of the enemy on the capital. The consternation was so great at court and in the city, that the Cardinal dared not show himself; for there was no insult which the populace would not have been ready to shower upon him when the news of the fall of Corbie arrived. Richelieu himself was so depressed in mind and body at the gigantic war which enveloped France, that if Père Joseph, to whom he confided his trouble, had not encouraged and counselled him, he was on the point of retiring from the administration of affairs.* Chavigny, Richelieu's confidential friend, describes the panic which followed the advance of the Spanish armies; "but," says he, "the King has gone for change of air to Madrid,† and

* Vie du Père Joseph de Tremblay. The Capuchin taunted his patron, as "une poule mouillée," for his panic; and advised him to show himself boldly to the populace.

† Madrid is a château in the Bois de Boulogne, which was built by Francis I. after his return from his captivity in Spain. The King used

Monseigneur to Chaillot; they both now understand each other, and are in perfect health."* The Count de Soissons meantime was sent into Picardy, as commander-in-chief, where Louis himself followed, and took up his quarters in the city of Amiens. The Duke de Montbazon repaired to Soissons; Brezé to La Fère; the Count d'Alais to Abbeville; Béthune to La Peronne; and Rambures to Dourlens;—all being eager to defend their country from invasion: while the Duke de Longueville, at the head of 6000 men, kept guard over the frontier of Normandy.

The Queen, during these momentous events, resided at St. Germain, and took eager interest in the affairs of the war. Notwithstanding the renewed prohibition of the King, Anne persisted in her clandestine correspondence with her brothers, Don Philip IV., and Ferdinand, governor of the Low Countries. Her indignation had been imprudently expressed at the treaty concluded by Louis XIII. with the States-General of Holland against Spain; while her Majesty could scarcely conceal her joy at the triumph of her countrymen, and at the visible dismay and depression of the minister. While France mourned in consternation, Anne and her favourite ladies exulted; and la Fayette was tauntingly advised by the Queen to counsel King Louis to make timely peace whilst he

to retire there, and the courtiers spoke of his Majesty, "comme étant à Madrit," during the period of his temporary seclusion.

* Aubéry, t. 3.

was able with Spain. The treacherous half surrender of La Capelle by the governor, M. du Bec, and the unexpected advance of the Spanish army upon Roye, had excited the suspicion of Richelieu. Letters intended for the Cardinal Infant were captured; the mysterious and suspicious allusions in which, on the condition of the frontier fortresses, inspired him with alarm and indignation. The facts which unaccountably transpired, relative to the military resources of the realm, proceeded evidently from some personage highly placed, and in the daily habit of hearing important discussions relative to the war. Richelieu, nevertheless, dared not, at this period, reveal his convictions: his own position was precarious: his enemies many; and the disastrous result of the campaign of 1635-6 had placed sharp weapons in the hands of persons who plotted his overthrow. The people, generally, pronounced that the alliance of Catholic France, and Protestant Germany was unhallowed, and likely to be visited with condign judgment. So anxious was Richelieu to propitiate Louis, and to conciliate public opinion, that, by the advice of his wily adviser, the Capuchin Joseph, he presented to the King "his Hôtel de Richelieu (afterwards Palais-Royal), with all its dependencies; also, his superb, and magnificent vessels for the altar, of gold and diamonds; his state buffet, and its trophies of silver plate, valued at three thousand golden marks; his celebrated heart-shaped diamond, weighing twenty carats: the whole uncon-

ditionally, but reserving to himself the enjoyment of the above during his lifetime."* "Monseigneur, by this graceful act you will diminish the dislike felt towards your Eminence by the populace; you will convince the public that you use wisely, and liberally the favours, and honours given you by the King; and that at your death your only wish is to restore your riches to your benefactor, instead of bequeathing such to your relatives. By this generosity you will acquire immortal renown; and your most bitter enemy must be converted into an eulogist of your disinterestedness." So argued Père Joseph; and Chavigny, therefore, on the 9th of June, 1636, carried the donation, signed by his Eminence, to the King, who was pleased to accept the gift. The fortune of the great minister soon emerged from the cloud of adversity, to the consternation of his adversaries. In November, 1636, Corbie was recaptured, and its garrison of 1600 Spaniards compelled to capitulate; and Gallas was repulsed, and compelled to retreat from the duchy of Burgundy before the gallant deeds of Condé. Successes also attended the French arms in Lorraine; so that the end of the year 1636 again found the policy of Richelieu in the ascendant; and the minister established, and greeted by his sovereign as, "*Celui qu'il aimoit le plus, avec M. le Cardinal de la Valette, en France.*"

Monsieur, meantime, had shared the campaign in

* Hist. du Card.-Duc de Richelieu.

Picardy with his cousin, M. de Soissons, the Princes having been declared by the King commanders of the besieging army. No sooner had Corbie capitulated, and the court rejoiced at so glorious an issue of the campaign, when Monsieur again fled from Versailles to Blois; while M. de Soissons, in disguise, reached the rebel haven, Bouillon's fortress of Sédan. The courtiers were confounded; Chavigny, in his amusing letters, which relieve the dry details of military proceedings, finds no word to express his amazement at such an escapade. "The King," says Chavigny, "sent for Monsieur after the surrender of Corbie, to consult with him on the dispersion of the army, and the towns in which large garrisons should winter; after which, his Majesty said to his brother, that it was now time that he should enjoy himself a little in Paris. Monsieur, however, insisted upon departing into Champagne, to which his Majesty declined to assent, as there was no military work in the province requiring his Highness's presence. I do not know whether this denial offended Monsieur; it is certain, however, that he has again fled from court, which is a thing that fills us with despair; for it appears as if the same work and negotiations have to begin over and over again!"* The true reason of the flight of the Duke, and of the Count de Soissons, was their dread of Richelieu's vengeance, after his detection of

* M. de Chavigny au Cardinal de la Valette.—Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Card.-Duc de Richelieu, t. 3. Paris, à 21 Nov., 1636.

a plot concocted between them to assassinate the minister on one of his visits to the royal abode —a castle in the vicinity of Amiens. The design failed, owing to the faint-heartedness of the Duke, who assuredly then held his enemy in his toils; as Richelieu, separated from his own attendants, was conversing with Monsieur, around whom stood the four gentlemen who, on a signal, were to give the fatal blow. Monsieur, assailed with a remorseful panic, suddenly ran up some steps leading to the King's apartment, leaving Richelieu surrounded by his intended assassins; who, perceiving the Duke's perturbation, dared not strike. Richelieu, with admirable *sang-froid*, comprehending how matters stood, bowed, and calmly entered his coach, which was in waiting. The Cardinal then caused the rumour to be circulated that the King had resolved on the arrest of M. d'Orléans and of M. de Soissons, on their return to Paris. The flight of the princes ensued; and neither of them quitted their retreat until fresh calamities convulsed the realm. Monsieur, nevertheless, obtained from his brother the long-sought recognition of his marriage with Marguerite de Lorraine—"provided that Monsieur espoused not, with the princess, the pretensions and resentment of Duke Charles of Lorraine, her brother."*

Aubéry, t. 2.—Promesses du Roy et de M. le Duc d'Orléans. Signed at Orleans, February 6th, 1637.—Siri, Memorie Recondite, t. 9.—Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4.

The year 1637 opened with the capture of Landrécy and the siege of La Capelle; important military events, which, united to the victories of the Duke of Weimar in Alsace, restored the military *prestige* of France. The desire, therefore, to conclude an honourable peace with Spain, and to put an end to the warfare in Italy, was now earnestly entertained by Richelieu. To effect this boon without compromising his sovereign, the Cardinal opened a private correspondence with the powerful minister, and favourite of Philip IV., the Count-duke de Olivarez. In this patriotic, and laudable design, Richelieu found himself foiled by the intrigues of Anne of Austria; who counselled her brother to enforce a solution of the political events leading to the war, at the sword's point, rather than by the pen of the diplomatist. Richelieu confided his suspicions to Père Joseph, and asked his invaluable assistance to unravel the intrigue. The doubts of Richelieu were first excited during the month of April of the year 1637; during the following months of June and July, the minister acquired more positive knowledge on the subject of the Queen's frequent correspondence with the enemy. He had resolved to send a secret agent to Spain to test the popular feeling of the country in regard to the war with France, and the private dispositions of the Spanish ministers. For this purpose, by the advice of Père Joseph, a monk of the order of Récollets, one Jérôme Bachelier, was selected—partly for his skill

in *chicane;* but more especially, as he was slightly acquainted with Olivarez, with whom Bachelier had conferred, when sent to Spain some years previously, on a mission connected with his order. Some ostensible errand, however, it was needful to provide, in order to procure for Bachelier an audience of the Count-duke. Richelieu therefore suggested to Anne of Austria, that as God had not yet granted her prayer for offspring, and as she had already caused prayers to be put up at every shrine in France, it might be advisable to solicit her brother, King Philip, to send her a fragment of some renowned saint of Spain; whose intercession might procure for her the unspeakable blessing of becoming the happy mother of a Dauphin. Anne assented, and wrote to the King her brother, to send her the arm of the holy, and blessed St. Isidore of Seville, to be enshrined in her chapel of Val de Grâce, that she might daily kneel in supplication before this precious relic of the Oracle of Spain. Probably on this occasion, Richelieu addressed to the Queen the following extraordinary epistle, which affords in itself no clue to the period when it was written:—"It is impossible for me to express to your Majesty the affliction with which I am inspired, in finding, from the letter with which I have been honoured, that God still withholds from your marriage the benediction which we had all trusted to obtain from His goodness. I assure your Majesty, that the King grieves as much for the affection which he bears you, as for his own

sake, and for the welfare of this realm. Nevertheless, I pray you to take comfort. What God withholds at one time, He bestows at another; and the Almighty, having hitherto testified a peculiar care for France, will, in His own good time, crown the blessings he has showered upon us by giving the one boon alone capable of consummating our felicity. I pray earnestly that so it may be: deign to believe, Madame, that no one desires this blessing more fervently than myself."* The Queen, however, far from being penetrated with Richelieu's devotion for her welfare, while soliciting through Bachelier the arm of St. Isidore, wrote by *ses voies secrètes* to her brother the King, to be on his guard against the intrigues, of the monk sent with her petition, as his true mission was secret, and political. Bachelier, accordingly, on his arrival at Madrid, found every ministerial door closed against him, and audience of the Count-duke refused, unless he first made a statement of his errand. Compelled to submit, Bachelier had then the mortification to find his request referred to the Archbishops of Toledo, and Seville, who had received his Catholic Majesty's commands to comply with the pious petition of his sister, the very Christian Queen. Foiled in his design, and confirmed in his distrust of the Queen by Bachelier's report, "that the intimation of the true object of his mission proceeded from a high authority in France,"†

* Aubéry, t. 5.

† Vie du Père Joseph.—Siri, Memorie Recondite.

Richelieu commenced in good earnest, investigations which he resolved should issue in the repudiation of Anne of Austria; or in her perfect submission to his decrees, of whatever nature he thought proper to propose. His first step was to place spies about Madame de Chevreuse, who was considered by his Eminence as the mischievous instigator and upholder of Anne's misdemeanours; his second, by the aid of Father Joseph, and the Archbishop of Paris, to introduce a young Capuchin monk, as confessor to some of the sisterhood of Val de Grâce — trusting by this device to gain insight into her Majesty's proceedings when at the convent, from whence all her private correspondence was despatched. It was discovered by this means that a person in disguise was in the habit of leaving letters for the Queen at the convent; which were delivered to the abbess, who now placed them in a recess in the wall by the side of the altar in the Queen's oratory. Anne always proceeded to the convent to peruse her letters and to indite her answers, which she placed in the same hiding-place. A few hours after the Queen's visit, the same messenger appeared at the convent-grate, to whom the letters were given by the abbess herself. This messenger was soon traced by Richelieu's secret police; he was discovered to be La Porte, the Queen's faithful servant, who had before suffered in her cause. He was followed to the hôtel of the English embassy, where he was heard to inquire for one M. Auger; and from the

same embassy, he was one morning pursued to the convent, where he was seen to leave a letter at the grate of the *parloir*.*

Madame de Chevreuse, meantime, had experienced some alleviation in the rigour of her captivity at Milly. She had been suffered to leave that dismal château, and take an hôtel in Tours, where her proceedings with the old Archbishop of Tours afforded great scandal to his pious flock.† The prelate was so fascinated with the beauty and wit of the duchess, that he became a martyr to her caprice; and showed perfect indifference to the decorum appertaining to his high position.

Richelieu therefore, sent an exempt of his police down to Tours to watch the manœuvres of his old enemy, and discovered that missives were often mysteriously despatched by Marc de la Porte, brother of the Queen's servant, and valet in the service of the duchess, who also was in the habit of receiving packets from his brother in Paris: the copy of a letter, moreover, alleged to have been written by Madame de Chevreuse to the Duke de Lorraine, was transmitted by an anonymous hand to the Cardinal de Richelieu. In this letter the duchess

* Le Capucin missionnaire raconta tout au Père Joseph, et celui-ci au Cardinal. Son Eminence résolut de rompre ce commerce; et fit comprendre au Roi le danger qu'il y avait d'écrire clandestinement à un ennemi de l'Etat." Vie du Père Joseph de Trembly, Capucin nommé au Cardinalat.

† Bertrand de Chaux, Archbishop of Tours, whose ignorance and simplicity were the best excuses for his aberrations.

taunted her old admirer with his languid zeal against the despoiler of his duchy—the tyrant Richelieu—whom, with the same perverted taste which characterised her intercepted correspondence with Châteauneuf, Madame de Chevreuse vilified in opprobrious terms. Richelieu now thought it time to humble the haughty Princess who had dared to defy his power, reject his amity, and to ridicule his admiration. The gravity of the Queen's offence merited arrest for high treason. From Louis XIII. Anne had little indulgence to expect; prepossessed with the idea that she had sanctioned, and even devised, the conspiracy for which Chalais suffered, the King was ready to believe any infamy which might be alleged against his imprudent consort.

On the last day of July, 1637, Richelieu assembled the council of state at the Louvre, previous to the departure of the King for Chantilly; whither Louis was going to spend the month of August, in high dudgeon that the remonstrance of his minister had prevented him from superintending in person, the siege-works before La Capelle. After giving certain explanations relative to the progress of the campaign in Picardy, Richelieu suddenly rose, and denounced the secret intelligences between Anne of Austria, the King of Spain, and the Cardinal Infant governor of the Low Countries. "Sire, we have arrived at that period of national calamity when the treasonable relations of a queen of France with the enemy must be arrested. Her Majesty, I have reason

to believe, has made important political disclosures, the proofs of which exist in the convent of the Val de Grâce." Richelieu then accused the Queen of illicit correspondence with Madame de Chevreuse; with Mirabel, late Ambassador of Spain at the court of France; with the Spanish ministers in London, and Brussels; with the Queen Marie de' Medici; and with the Queen of England, whom she had perniciously exhorted to make innovations in religion highly displeasing to Charles I., under the delusive hope that Spain would interpose to put down seditious risings in Britain.* The sensation excited by the Cardinal's discourse was acute enough to satisfy his anticipations; the council clamoured that investigations should be instituted into an affair which so nearly concerned the national honour, and the military renown of France! The King, informed beforehand of Anne's misdemeanours, listened in sullen wrath; and empowered his ministers to make all preparatory arrests, and examinations for the elucidation of the business.

"There is already sufficient evidence for the arrest and arraignment of the Queen on a charge of high treason," exclaimed the Chancellor Séguier. "Such a process, however, would shake the prestige of the monarch, and degrade the royal dignity. I put to you, therefore, Sire, whether it will not be better to

* Vie du Card. Duc de Richelieu.—Siri, Galerie des Personnages Illustres, t. 4.—Préface aux Mém. de Richelieu depuis l'ann. 1616 à 1620.—Bassompierre, Journal de ma Vie.

avoid so cruel an extremity, and to exact instead from the Queen Infanta a plenary confession; and to compel the acceptance of pledges which hereafter shall suffice to prevent future correspondence?" *

The moderate advice of Séguier met with applause, and with protestations from the Cardinal minister, "that his fealty to the state surpassed only his reverence for her Majesty." The Chancellor was then commanded by the King to make the necessary perquisition into the affair, "without favour or dread;" and a mandate was addressed by Louis to the Archbishop of Paris, directing, and requiring him to grant every facility for the investigation requisite in the nunnery of Val de Grâce, which was under his jurisdiction. Lastly, a *lettre de cachet* was signed by the King, decreeing the arrest and transfer of Pierre la Porte to the fortress of the Bastille.†

The Queen, meantime, unconscious of the gulf yawning at her feet, had been present a few days previously at the profession of Louise Angélique de la Fayette in the nunnery of the Visitandines. Louis, overwhelmed with grief at this separation, had exhausted his powers of persuasion to induce La Fayette to reconsider her resolve. He accused the Cardinal of using menace to hasten this determination; and one day Louis suddenly returned from Fontainebleau to Paris, after the reception of a

* Procès-Verbal du Chancelier (Séguier).—MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. No. 4068.—Pièces relatives à l'affaire du Val de Grâce.

† Ibid. Mém. de la Porte, Coll. Pettitot.

letter from Louise, in which she expressed some apprehension of the Cardinal's violence. "If M. le Cardinal causes Mademoiselle de la Fayette to be abducted and carried into Auvergne, as he once threatened, I swear that I will fetch her thence in the very teeth of the Lord Cardinal, and of all the devils in his train!"* "Sire," exclaimed La Fayette, "cease to urge me. I have vowed allegiance to a higher Potentate than yourself. Let me become His faithful subject."† The sermon on the profession of La Fayette was preached by Caussin, who was moved to tears as he contemplated the fair young girl about to be sacrificed to a court intrigue. The Queen threw the black veil over the head of La Fayette, who wept without ceasing throughout the ceremony. At the conclusion of the service, Anne retired to the Abbess's parlour, and sent for Caussin. Her Majesty then, after a touching allusion to the scene which they had just witnessed, said, that her conscience obliged her to remark to the reverend father, that she deemed it to be his bounden duty to represent to the King that his people groaned under the burden of taxes, and subsidies, to defray the expenses of a war excited, and maintained by the ambition of the Cardinal; that the aim of the Cardinal was so to daze the mind of the King, that his services could not be dispensed with; that his

* Journal du Card. de Richelieu, publié en 1648.

† Vie de Mademoiselle de la Fayette, Dreux du Radier. "Le Roy et elle se quittèrent les larmes aux yeux."

ambition, and treachery, maintained a perpetual feud between the King, and his nearest and dearest connections, and some of his most faithful nobles, most of whom would serve the realm with greater ability than M. le Cardinal. In reply to this somewhat officious address, Caussin assured her Majesty of his zeal and loyalty; but said, "that he had made a rule never to interfere in politics: but in other matters he would faithfully acquit himself as his conscience might dictate."*

On the 3rd of August, Louis departed for Chantilly. On the following day Anne also left Paris, not having the slightest suspicion of the peril awaiting her. Anne was followed to her coach by Mademoiselle de Hautefort and other ladies, who took leave of her Majesty for the period of her absence at Chantilly. La Porte was amongst the Queen's attendants; before leaving the Louvre Anne beckoned to this individual, and gave him two letters—one folded and addressed; the other in a blank envelope, and unsealed. Her Majesty said, "Carry this letter to the post; as for this one, I will tell you what you must do with it!" Anne was proceeding to give La Porte the necessary instructions, when a nobleman of the court approached, to whom she was compelled to speak; the Queen then hurriedly entered her coach with Madame de Senécé, and drove out of the court-yard. "The

* Griffet, Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII., t. 3, ann. 1637.

Queen," says La Porte, "made me understand by a sign that both these letters were for Madame de Chevreuse; she omitted, however, to tell me what she desired me to do with the letter enclosed without an address in a sheet of paper; but I concluded that her Majesty might send me word the same evening. Afterwards I took the determination, as I did not hear, to send them both by a special messenger whom I trusted, and knew."* The Queen had no sooner quitted the precincts of the Louvre, than La Porte was arrested, and conveyed to the Bastille, by Goulart, ensign of les Mousquetaires du Roi. On his person were found the letters given to him by Anne, one of which was openly addressed to the Duchesse de Chevreuse, a mere letter of gossip, and was to have been forwarded by the royal mails; the other letter was written partly in a cipher of numerals, and made allusion to some recent intercourse of letters between the duchess, and the Duke of Lorraine. The Queen, moreover, therein refused to sanction, "as too perilous," a project proposed by Madame de Che-

* Mém. de Richelieu, t. 10. Interrogatoires de la Porte. Ibid. Mémoires.—Lettre du Père Carré au Cardinal de Richelieu. "La Porte, le jour qu'il fut pris, avoit voulu donner les lettres de la Reyne à un gentilhomme qui refusa de les prendre, feignant qu'il devoit demeurer ici encore trois jours. La Porte lui conseilla de prendre congé de la Reyne lorsque sa majesté entreroit en carrosse; ce qu'il fit: et elle ne manqua pas de lui dire, 'La Porte vous doit donner une lettre,' à laquelle il s'excusa. Madame de la Flotte m'avertit qu'une personne lui avoit dit, que la Porte avoit un chiffre qui servoit à déchiffrer les lettres qu'on écrivoit à la Reyne."—Cousin, Appendice, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

vreuse, to visit the Louvre in disguise, that she might confer on important matters with her Majesty. The letters were both in the handwriting of the Queen; and on the envelope of the unsealed letter was the sign $, which La Porte afterwards avowed was the hieroglyphic by which Anne indicated the letters that were to be sent to the duchess by "*les voies secrètes.*" A third letter was also found in the pocket of La Porte from Madame de Chevreuse; which, however, contained nothing particular, except a request that La Porte would remind the Countess de Lude to ask the Queen to interest herself in the prompt settlement of a law-suit then pending between the duchess, and M. de Chevreuse.

The news of the arrest of La Porte came accidentally to the ears of Mademoiselle de Hautefort, who was spending the interval of the Queen's absence from Paris at the house of her grandmother, Madame de la Flotte Hauterive. A certain M. de Guigencourt happened to be loitering in the vicinity of the Louvre, and saw the arrest made. Being slightly acquainted with La Porte, he followed the soldiers and their prisoner as far as the gates of the Bastille. La Porte was known to be a confidential servant of the Queen: Guigencourt therefore hastened to Mademoiselle de Hautefort, to impart to her the event he had witnessed. The magnitude of the catastrophe was too well comprehended by La Hautefort; who, devoted to Anne of Austria, cleverly partook in all her secrets without

becoming involved in their disastrous course. She instantly saw the expediency of warning the Queen without loss of time; but as her letter might be intercepted, or be delayed by etiquette from immediate presentation, Mademoiselle de Hautefort enclosed it to Mademoiselle de Chémerault, her intimate friend, who was then in waiting at Chantilly, adjuring her to lose no time in presenting the enclosure to her royal mistress. Mademoiselle de Chémerault was not a favourite with the Queen, who thought her *bavarde* and *coquette;* she had not therefore the privilege of early *entrée* to the bed-chamber. To attract Anne's attention was therefore her only chance of obeying the urgent mandate of La Hautefort. On presenting herself at the Queen's toilette, Mademoiselle de Chémerault arrayed herself splendidly, putting the note in her bosom. The Queen, attracted by the unusual sight of a *grande toilette* before she had commenced her own, looked displeased; and commenced in a bantering tone to rebuke La Chémerault for her folly. A sign, however, soon caught her eye, Anne being ever on the alert for the *dénouement* of her intrigues. The Queen, therefore, still pretending to rally the vanity of La Chémerault, approached, and the latter, while making profound obeisance, contrived to retreat, until a large mirror screened the Queen from the watchful eyes of Madame de Senécé, and others. In an instant the important missive was transferred

from the bosom of La Chémerault to that of the Queen. Anne returned, and with heightened colour seated herself before her toilette-table. Soon, however, under some slight pretext, she rose, and retired alone into the cabinet fitted up for her oratory; when, opening the note, she possessed herself of its alarming contents.* "The Queen," says the author of the Vie de Madame de Hautefort, "fell back almost senseless with alarm when she had perused the letter. Such a surprising sickness and indifference subsequently overpowered her Majesty, that for forty hours not a morsel of food passed her lips, she who had usually so good an appetite." Mademoiselle de Hautefort informed the Queen that she had not imparted the subject of her letter to Mademoiselle de Chémerault; and that she would obey, in all matters, her directions. The Queen presently sent cordial thanks to Mademoiselle de Hautefort by La Chémerault, for the important service which she had rendered her; and begged the continuance of her assistance in this extremity.† "The unhappy princess having no mercy to expect from her consort, or from a minister who, on more than one occasion had threatened her with exile and divorce, believing herself lost, abandoned herself at first, without regard to appearance, or to prudence,

* Vie Inédite de Madame de Hautefort, publiée par M. Victor Cousin. Vie d'Anne d'Autriche; Mém. de Motteville, t. 6.

† Vie Inédite de Madame de Hautefort, publiée par M. Victor Cousin; Vie d'Anne d'Autriche; Mém. de Motteville, t. 6.

to the anguish, and despair which possessed her." "Lost! lost!" she was overheard to murmur, "the Cardinal will marry his niece to the King, and she will bear children never mind how!" alluding to Madame d'Aiguillon, whom Anne detested for her sanctimonious manners, and for her undeviating allegiance to her uncle. On the 7th of August, Richelieu arrived at Chantilly. Anne, who does not appear to have made any appeal meantime to the King, immediately sent her secretary, M. Le Gras, to wait upon Richelieu, to inquire on her behalf, "what had happened to cause the arrest of La Porte? as she assured his Eminence that she had availed herself of the services of the said La Porte, to send friendly letters to Madame de Chevreuse only; and protested on her honour, that she had never sent a line into Flanders, nor into Spain, by the aid of the said La Porte, or by that of any other person, or medium whatever." * Richelieu, who, owing to the services of Séguier, and other persons, — who readily came forward with their evidence now that an accusation was made,—knew as well as the Queen herself, the extent of her misdemeanours, made no reply to a statement so at variance with the truth. The silence of the minister increased the anguish, and suspense of the Queen. "Silence," she observed, "was more cruel in this

* Relation de ce qui s'est passé en l'affaire de la Reine sur le sujet de La Porte, et de l'Abbesse de Val de Grâce. MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F. 4068.

extremity than the most bitter reproaches." Anne knew not the extent of her peril: she was ignorant of the quarter from whence the blow proceeded; whether discovery of her secret correspondences in France had only been made; or whether, her danger proceeded from letters, and reports forwarded by the Ambassadors at Madrid, and Brussels. La Porte however knew enough, as she was aware, to authorise her arrest; and she had reason to doubt whether his fidelity, and fortitude would stand the terrible ordeal of the torture-chamber of the Bastille. In her agony, Anne knew not to whom to turn for counsel: she desired to see Mademoiselle de Hautefort; and she even expressed a wish to confer with the Duchess d'Aiguillon—but no person was permitted access to her presence. By some one of the numerous expedients in which Anne was an adept, she contrived to communicate by letter with the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and with M. de Puisieux, an ex-secretary of state, whom Richelieu had exiled, to implore their counsel. M. de la Rochefoucauld relates in his Memoirs that the Queen proposed to him, in order to save her from perpetual imprisonment for life in the fortress of Hâvre, which she felt certain was a doom impending over her, that he should carry her off from Chantilly, and convey her to the protection of her brother at Brussels.* Meantime, her de-

* Mém. pp. 352, 353, et seq.

voted friend, Marie de Hautefort, was moving heaven and earth to devise a method of communicating with La Porte, to satisfy the Queen's anxious solicitude to secure his silence; and to inform him of the peril of his royal mistress, which might be consummated by a single imprudent admission. "Consternation is imprinted on the face of the Queen," writes Grotius, the Swedish Ambassador, to the Chancellor Oxenstiern, "and her health visibly suffers.* The rare visits which she now receives from the ladies of the court, announce some serious complication; perhaps, at the suggestion of officious ecclesiastics, the Queen, it may be proved, has been guilty of some crime, hoping to benefit the Roman Catholic Faith, which is deemed endangered by the alliance of France with so-called heretics."

Several letters addressed to Anne of Austria, had fallen into the Cardinal's hands during the brief interval after La Porte's arrest, and his own arrival at Chantilly. He had also ascertained that within the last eight months La Porte had conveyed five little

* Galerie de Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4. "On parle fort à la Cour de l'affaire de la Reine," writes Grotius in another despatch. "Les gens disent communément qu'en voyant les lettres qu'elle écrivoit en Espagne par l'Angleterre surprises et déchiffrées, elle a demandé pardon au Roi; et qu'en présence de 9 témoins entre lesquels on compte son propre confesseur, celui du Roi, et De Noyers, elle confessa avoir écrit à Madrid sur les moyens de traverser la ligue projectée entre la France et l'Angleterre; marqué les endroits faibles ou le royaume peut être attaqué; et averti le roi d'Espagne de se défier d'un certain Bachelièr, envoyé en France sous prétexte d'acquitter un vœu de la Reine à St.-Isidore," &c., &c.

packets of writing to Auger, at the English embassy, sent by the Queen; and that letters had frequently, sometimes thrice a-week, been taken therefrom, and delivered by La Porte himself into the Queen's hands. La Hautefort, about the 12th of August, nine days after the arrest of La Porte, sent word to the Queen through Mademoiselle Chémerault, whom Anne found herself compelled to trust, that it was reported in Paris "that La Porte, under the influence of torture, had made important confessions; and as it would be highly expedient to gain some intelligences within the Bastille, she had obtained a list of the personages confined in the fortress, which she had sent for her Majesty's inspection." Anne replied, "that she was too afflicted and troubled in her mind; that she could think of nothing but her griefs; and that, as she felt unequal to any mental exertion, she confided implicitly in the affection, and ability of Madame de Hautefort." *

On the Feast of the Assumption Anne attended mass and received the Holy Eucharist in the chapel at Chantilly. Driven frantic by her terror and suspense, as it must charitably be supposed, Anne, while she knelt before the altar, sent for Le Gras, her secretary, and for Caussin, the King's confessor; and, with the Sacred Elements on her lips, she laid her hand on the altar and took oath that she had never held treasonable correspondence with any foreign potentate; adding,

* Vie MS. Cousin; Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

"that she required and charged them both to repair to the presence of King Louis, and report what they had seen, and heard."* This terrible act of perjury invalidates for ever any statement put forth by Anne of Austria; and gives probability to all subsequent charges preferred by her enemies, showing, that there was no act, however flagrant, from which the Queen shrank in order to deliver herself from peril and disgrace. "*La reine est fausse: elle est perfide et ingrate,*" was a plaint which often escaped Louis XIII. with more justice perhaps, than many have been inclined to believe; and explains the neglect in which Louis suffered his consort to exist, though she wore the crown-matrimonial of France, and was the eldest sister of the most puissant monarch in Christendom.

The extreme perturbation of Anne's mind is not accounted for by subsequent revelations, much as they damaged her character as a wife and a Queen: it seems therefore, almost certain that the omnipotent minister, having made his terms with the Queen, suffered enough to transpire to justify in the sight of the King, and his subjects, the commotion he had made; while suppressing evidence, which must have rendered her crime unpardonable in the opinion of King Louis, and the nation.

On the 16th day of August, Le Gras, with much

* MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 4068.

circumlocution, informed the Queen, "that more was known by M. le Cardinal than she suspected; that a warrant was out for the arrest of the Abbess of Le Val de Grâce, and for her transfer as a prisoner to the castle of Bussière; that Madame de Chevreuse was to be conveyed to the fortress of Loches; while La Porte had suffered one severe interrogatory in the Bastille, before MM. de Laffémas and La Poterie." The Queen, after an interval of reflection, and with all the appearance of desperate resolution, sent Le Gras to request that the Cardinal de Richelieu would visit her early on the morrow, as she had revelations to make. Aware of what must be the result of the search about to be instituted in her apartments at the Val de Grâce, Anne dreaded the wrath, and fury of Louis XIII. rather than the indignation of Richelieu, over whom she had already witnessed the power of her charms. The exultation of the Cardinal was doubtless great; the Queen had been brought to seek his assistance, and one link in the chain of her subjugation had been wrought. On the morrow, therefore, August 17th, 1637, Richelieu, after first seeking an audience of the King, to ask his permission to hold interview with her Majesty, entered Anne's presence. His Eminence was attended by the two secretaries of state, Chavigny and de Noyers, by his own private secretary, and by two gentlemen of his household. Anne was sitting under her canopy of state, looking ill, depressed, her eyes swollen with weeping. Hearing that the Queen was unattended

by any of her women, the Cardinal caused Madame de Senécé to be summoned, who took her place behind the Queen's fauteuil. Anne languidly extended her hand to Richelieu, who, kneeling, pressed it to his lips. A few compliments were interchanged; the Queen then said in a hurried voice, "that she had sent for M. le Cardinal to avow to him that she had written to M. le Cardinal of Spain, her brother; and that her letter had been despatched, *par des voies secrèts*, to Brussels; the letter, nevertheless, contained expressions only of sisterly regard, with inquiries after the health of his Royal Highness, with other demands of like innocent import."* When the Queen ceased, Richelieu sternly replied, "Madame, to my certain knowledge, other subjects have been discussed in your said letters. If you desire my interposition, it is necessary that you should make frank confession,

* The letter alluded to by the Queen is probably the following one—one of the few letters written during her married life extant. The letter is given as in the original, in Anne's phraseology and spelling:—"Hermano mio—Sino fuera porque temo de cansar le, con mis cartas no dejaria pasar ningun ordinario sin escrivirle; mas, no peudo acabar ? conmigo el dejar pasar este sin hazerlo, y dezir lo que he sentido harto que ayan venido dos o très sin haber sabido nuevas suyas; y por acà se dizen algunas tan diferentes de las que yo deseo, que aunque no las creo, no dejaré de da me grandissima pena; y asi le supplico que mande que no venga ningun ordin° sin que yo sepa nuevas suyas; y quando no me pudiere escribir, mande que escrivan a Don Christoval para que el me las pudiere dar. Si supiese lo que yo me huelgo con ellas, no duda de la mercedes que me haze, que tendria muchiss° cuyadado que no me faltasen algun dia. Espéro en Dios, que le podre dezir el consuelo que es para mi; y que con esto se puede haber (sufrir) todo: el me cumpie este deseo, que le prometo que despues de la salvacion es el mayor que tengo. Suplico Nrõ. Señor que me guarde Hermano mio como deseo."—MS. Bibl. Imp. Fonds. Fr., 9241—3747, fol. 3.

as I have assurance from the King your august consort, that he will pardon the said deviations of which he has cognizance; in proof of which, I have assembled the personages present to witness my declaration. If you have nothing more to confide to my ear, I will repair to his Majesty, and take his royal commands on the steps which his duty to his realm may require." Menace lurked in the bland works of his Eminence; "the King promised oblivion for those misdemeanours of which he was cognizant." What revelations lay hidden in the caskets of the Val de Grâce, or in the breast of the prisoner La Porte? And what did the threat signify, "that Richelieu would take the royal commands on the measures necessary for the welfare of the realm?" With a shuddering sob Anne then requested Madame de Senécé, the secretaries of state, and others, to retire, and leave her alone with Monsieur le Cardinal.

The Queen then confessed *all* to Richelieu; showing, according to his statement, marvellous confusion at the deed of perjury which she had committed on the Feast of the Assumption.

Anne admitted:—1st. That the letters seized on the person of M. Senelle, and addressed to her by Madame de Fargis during the years 1631—1632, were genuine, and not forged missives, as she had at the time pertinaciously insisted. 2ndly. That she had written to the Cardinal Infant, to Mirabel, to Gerbier the English resident at Brussels, and had received frequent replies from these personages. 3rdly. That her

letters were written in her private closet, then given to La Porte, who transferred them to M. Auger, secretary to the English ambassage, who forwarded them to Brussels. 4thly. That, in these letters, she had testified discontent at her position; and that she had written to Mirabel letters, and received in return answers, which would be very displeasing to the King, her lord. 5thly. That she had given notice of the journey into Spain of the monk Bachelier; and had warned them to open their eyes and detect the private designs for which he had been sent. 6thly. That she had disclosed to the Marquis de Mirabel that a reconciliation with M. de Lorraine was talked about in France; and had warned them (the Spaniards) to be on their guard. 7thly. That she had demonstrated much annoyance when she heard it spoken of as probable, that the English were about to reconcile themselves with France, instead of persevering in their alliance with Spain. 8thly. That the letter found upon La Porte was to have been conveyed to Madame de Chevreuse by the Sieur de la Thibaudière; and that, in the said letter, she mentioned the project of a secret visit which the duchess contemplated paying to her. "Whilst her Majesty was making this confession, her condescension was such," writes Richelieu, "that she several times exclaimed, '*Quelle bonté faut-il que vous ayez, M. le Cardinal!*' and protesting that she should feel everlasting obligation towards the person who would extricate her from her dilemma, she did

me the honour to say, 'Give me your hand, M. le Cardinal!' and presented her own as the pledge of the fidelity with which she intended to adhere to her promises. However, out of respect, I withdrew further from her Majesty, while she made the said protestations." *

Such was the substance of the confession made by the Queen, and suffered to transpire by Richelieu; it was first reserved for the ear of the King alone, but eventually got wind at court. No one believed that the whole truth had been disclosed; and what was mere conjecture in France took the form of positive assertion abroad, in those countries especially, whose secret archives might have betrayed the facts. What passed besides at this interview of two hours between Richelieu and Anne of Austria; and on what terms his forbearance and protection were purchased, can never now be disclosed. That Richelieu informed the Queen that on the following day the convent of Val de Grâce was to be searched, and its abbess arrested, appears more than probable by the strange fact, which took all the ministers by surprise excepting Richelieu, and also the most ardent of Anne's adherents, that not a single document of any description—not even a scrap of writing of later date than the year 1630—was discovered in her Majesty's apartments, or in any other chamber of the convent. The deposit of her papers in her convent stronghold

* MS. Bibl. Imp. Supplément François, No. 4068. Pièces relatives à l'affaire de 1637.

was a fact constantly admitted by the Queen to her intimates. All her private correspondence was addressed from thence; and in the subsequent examinations it was admitted—when the confession could do no harm by the proofs being destroyed—that all the Queen's recent private letters had been there received, read, and the answers thereto despatched from the nunnery; also, that the ciphers for her foreign correspondence were, until recently, left in a coffer standing in her oratory. The fact might have excited less surprise if it had been remembered that the abbess, Louise de Milly, was a cousin of the famous Capuchin Joseph, Richelieu's second self—his constant guest, and private counsellor. A hint to Le P. Joseph, after Richelieu's interview with Anne of Austria, might authorise the Capuchin to communicate with the abbess, so that, during the night of the 18th of August, she might have committed to the flames all documents that compromised her royal mistress; or, what is most probable, she may, by command of the Queen, have delivered the papers to the Capuchin. This supposition would corroborate the subsequent evidence of a poor nun of the convent, that one night she had seen the abbess convey with her own hands, to the chapel, two coffers adorned with the initials of her Majesty. Anne afterwards explained, on the demand of the Chancellor, that these coffers contained only a reliquary, and a few jewels. So strange did the non-appearance of these papers appear, that all kinds of

suppositions were invented to account for their disappearance. The author of the Vie du Père Joseph, asserts that the Queen was supposed to have received friendly warning from the Chancellor Séguier; and had contrived by some method to withdraw her most dangerous papers from the convent, which she desired the abbess to deliver to Madame de Sourdis.* This statement is most improbable; in the first place, the name of Madame de Sourdis never occurs in the history of the Queen's private life at this period; secondly, the police of the Cardinal de Richelieu was too vigilant to permit of the surreptitious withdrawal of important papers from a nunnery under its especial *surveillance*. Besides, the Queen evidently knew not of the intended search at the Val de Grâce until after her interview with the Cardinal. So carefully was the secret of this visit preserved, that the Archbishop of Paris, who accompanied Séguier to the convent, knew nothing of the measures to be pursued, until he found himself *vis-à-vis* to the Chancellor in his coach, and on his way thither. Séguier, in the *procès verbal* of his visit, addressed to Richelieu, plainly states his opinion, that some friend of the Queen had been beforehand, and had effectually removed all traces of her guilt. "It is our unanimous opinion," writes Séguier, "that some one has here given important notice of events—not that the Archbishop is impli-

* Jeanne de Montluc, Countess de Carmain, daughter of Sieur de Montesquion and de Jeanne de Foix: she married Charles d'Escoubleau, Marquis d'Alluye et de Sourdis, and died in 1657.

cated, because Monseigneur was not himself cognizant of any such intended visit—but we think it is probable that the Queen, suspecting some inquiry might be made, has so directed the reverend Mother, that no important papers should be found." This is not the language of a person who had been himself the author of the important notice of events, which he deprecates, as having partially defeated the ends of justice.*

To return to the interview between Richelieu and Queen Anne at Chantilly—when the Cardinal took leave, Anne remained alone, apparently convulsed with sorrow. His Eminence then sought the presence of the King, who waited with extreme impatience to hear the result of the interview. Louis pursued the affair with extraordinary ardour: he insisted upon perusing every deposition made; the reports of the Chancellor, and other officers of the Crown were submitted to his inspection; and it was evident that his Majesty expected, and probably wished to obtain, revelations of the last importance. The Cardinal repeated the admissions made by Anne; but remarked that the Queen's fault, though doubtless grave, was, he trusted, not unpardonable. He ventured, therefore, to ask the royal clemency on her behalf. Louis sullenly demanded to peruse the confession in the Queen's own handwriting, before he

* Bibl. Imp. MS. Suppl. Fr. 4068. All these manuscript relations of events are in the handwriting of the Cardinal de Richelieu.

accorded any grace whatever. Le Gras * was then summoned, and sent to the Queen with this humiliating order. Very bitter must have been Anne's tears while she accomplished this unwelcome, and degrading task. The document laid before the King, and amended by the pen of Richelieu, whom Anne consulted, is as follows:—

"Upon the assurance given us by our very dear and beloved cousin, the Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, who, on our prayer came to confer with us, that the King, our very revered lord and spouse, had commanded him to inform us, that like as he had aforetimes forgiven deeds committed by us displeasing and disagreeable to his Majesty—especially in the affair of, and concerning La Dame de Fargis, during the years 1631, 1632—he was disposed again to grant us the same grace, on condition that we confess, and declare frankly and truly all the secret intelligences which we have holden unknown to his Majesty, both within and without the kingdom; the persons whom we have employed; and the chief events which we have imparted, or those which in a like manner have been transmitted to us:—

"We Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of France and Navarre, avow and admit that we have written several times to M. le Cardinal Infant our brother, to the Marquis de Mirabel, to Gerbier, the English

* The Queen's private secretary.

resident in Flanders, and that we have frequently received letters from the said personages.

"That these letters were written in our closet, La Porte our *porte-manteau* in ordinary, being only in our confidence; we gave our letters to the said La Porte, who carried them to Auger, secretary of the English embassy, who forwarded them for us to Gerbier.

"That amongst other subjects, we sometimes testified our discontent and resentment at our domestic position; and we acknowledge to have written and received letters from the Marquis de Mirabel, conceived in terms likely to be greatly offensive to the King.

"We acknowledge to having given notice of the journey into Spain of a monk of the order of Minimes; and we advised that a strict watch should be kept over his actions.

"We also warned the Marquis de Mirabel that the reconciliation of the Duke of Lorraine with the King was spoken of, and that he had better provide in time against such a vexatious event.

"We moreover, own to having testified and expressed great annoyance, when it was supposed that the English were about to be reconciled with France, instead of remaining the allies of Spain.

"That the letter taken from La Porte was to have been delivered to a certain Sieur de la Thibaudière; and that the letter made mention of a journey projected by Madame de Chevreuse, who wished to pay us a clandestine visit.

"We freely, and candidly confess to all the above-mentioned facts, and voluntarily declare them to be true. We promise never more to be guilty of like faults; and we engage to live with the King, our very honoured lord and husband, as beseems a person who holds no other interest but the welfare of his royal person, and realm. In witness of which we sign this present with our own hand, and cause it to be countersigned by our private counsellor and secretary, and keeper of our privy seal.

"Done at Chantilly, this 17th day of August, 1637.

(Signed) "Anne.

"Le Gras."*

This document Anne's secretary conveyed to Richelieu, who presented it to King Louis; assuring his Majesty that he believed the Queen had candidly confessed the truth, as La Porte had undergone already two rigid interrogatories, and had revealed nothing. He therefore advised him to grant the Queen pardon for the misdeeds of which she had made written confession. Louis consented; which fact demonstrates the extraordinary influence exercised over the King's mind by his minister—as he

* MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 1065. This document is in the handwriting of Le Gras, and was a copy furnished to the Cardinal in obedience to his mandate. The original may perhaps be still on the shelves of the French Foreign Office; though, probably, Anne of Austria, after accession to power as Regent of France, would decree the suppression of this, and many other damaging papers connected with her career as Queen-consort.

was induced so to do without waiting for the report of the search at the Val de Grâce; or for the result of the examination of the Abbess Louise de Milley. That the King considered his pardon as a mere form, perhaps due to the dignity of the Queen-consort, is evident, as, after this document was signed, Louis commanded the investigation into Anne's conduct and her correspondence, to be pursued with increased rigour. The additional revelations which came to the King's knowledge were severely punished by him without regard to this absolution: and there is little doubt, that if the various *procès verbaux* had not been toned down, or suppressed by the Cardinal, and the Queen's letters in the Val de Grâce totally abstracted, that Louis would have proceeded with rigour to punish Anne's infidelity. The form of the King's letter of pardon ran thus:—

"After having perused the frank confession which the Queen our dear spouse, has made of all that has lately displeased us in her conduct; and on the assurance which she gives us that she will for the future conduct herself as her duty to us, and to our realm commands—we declare, that we pardon and obliterate from our mind the said past events, and promise in accordance, to live with her as a good king, and husband, should do. In witness of which, we sign the present, and cause it to be countersigned by one of our privy counsellors and secretaries of state.

"Done at Chantilly, this 17th day of August, 1637.

(Signed) "Louis.

"Bouthillier."*

Louis, accompanied by the Cardinal, then proceeded to the Queen's apartment. Anne rose and threw herself at the King's feet, craving his pardon. Louis coldly laid before her Majesty her confession, with his pardon appended thereto, saying: "All this, Madame, that you have here confessed would not, as you are aware, be pardoned in Spain; nevertheless, I am willing to forgive all that you have so far avowed. It is my pleasure, however, that for the future, you show to Madame de Senécé, and cause her to peruse any future letters you send abroad!" "Sire," replied the Queen, "I never can extinguish the love which I bear towards my brothers; nevertheless, for the future, I will learn so to demonstrate my affection, as to commit no infidelity, or transgression against your realm!" †

Séguier, meantime, accompanied by the Archbishop of Paris, by the two secretaries of state, Chavigny and De Noyers, and by M. de la Potherye, suddenly appeared before the gates of the Val de Grâce, and demanded admission *de par le Roy*. A guard of soldiers surrounded the convent; and archers penetrated even into the interior of the house. Séguier

* Bibl. Imp. MS. Suppl. Fr., 1068.

† Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4.

assembled the community in the refectory; where the Archbishop opened the proceedings by pronouncing a solemn excommunication against the Abbess, or any member of the sisterhood, who should equivocate, conceal, or suppress the truth relative to the grievous scandal which had caused the visit of M. le Chancelier. The Abbess was then arrested, and conveyed a prisoner to her cell by seven soldiers of the guard. The Prioress likewise suffered the same indignity; but was ordered by Séguier to point out the chests, coffers, and closets where papers were stored, and to attend him during his search. The nuns remained in the refectory, at the door of which soldiers were stationed. Séguier first demanded to be led to the Queen's apartments. A rigid examination then took place — every closet, desk, drawer, and chest was rifled. In a small recess to the right of the altar, a number of letters were seized; but they proved to be papers of no consequence in the present inquiry, but were epistles received in the year 1630 by her Majesty, chiefly from Madame de Chevreuse. A small leather coffer was found locked; which upon being eagerly opened contained only gloves *de peau d'Angleterre*, with a little friendly note from Queen Henrietta Maria. In the coffer, within which so many discoveries were expected, and where the Queen's clandestine correspondence was placed by the Abbess, nothing was found but scourges and "disciplines" of various degrees of severity. The chapel, the oratory, and

the private cell of the Abbess were next searched, but nothing was discovered. The Abbess was then led into the awful presence of Séguier, to suffer the ordeal of a first interrogatory; and to hear the reading of the decree of her banishment, and probable deposition from her abbatial dignity. The narrative is thus vividly given by Séguier himself in a despatch to his chief, Richelieu:—"The nuns of the Val de Grâce appeared to be in great consternation at the orders which they received. The mother Abbess seemed amazed. We judged, nevertheless, that some one had given them notice of our intended visitation—not of the visit of the Archbishop, as Monseigneur was not himself cognizant of such a visit—but it is our opinion that the Queen, suspecting something, warned the Abbess, who took care that we should find no papers. The letters which we brought away are all written in the year 1630. Nothing here shows that the Queen has since corresponded. Nothing can have been abstracted since we took possession of the convent; a guard was placed over the Queen's apartments, whilst we examined the cell of the Abbess. The said superior wished to appear indisposed: she said that she was feverish and ill. The doctor, however, whose advice we took, stated that she had no fever beyond that excited by the events of the day. This said Abbess is very wily; she is a native born of Franche Comté. After the oaths which we administered, she must be very subtle and advised, if she has not told the

truth. The Archbishop solemnly excommunicated her, unless she confessed all, and declared her incapable of being absolved therefrom: she then took oath on the Holy Eucharist—which is the most stringent oath that we could administer. She testifies the strongest affection for the Queen, and denies everything. She says that her Majesty has been wickedly accused of many false things; but she is a just, and virtuous princess. When she was leaving the convent, she said—that God would avenge her for the cruelty and injustice under which she suffered; and that wrong could not last for ever. Her community was reluctant to permit her to leave: there was, however, no resistance; but perfect obedience to the mandate of the King—so much so, that such submission is rarely met with in other convents. All the nuns of the community offered to attend her." *

The unfortunate Abbess was placed in a coach, surrounded by a guard, and conveyed to the Castle of Bussière; there she was subjected to rigorous imprisonment, being debarred for many weeks from taking the air, and from communication with her relatives.

Richelieu had prescribed the points on which the examination at the Val de Grâce was to turn, which had been signified in writing by De Noyers. Anne's confession was cleverly made the basis of all future inquiry; and, as it seems, the aim of the exami-

* MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 4068. Lettre Autographe du Chancelier Séguier au Cardinal de Richelieu, avec une note de sa main.

nations which ensued, was rather to confirm her assertions for the satisfaction of the King, than to elicit further discovery. Her Majesty, however, in her confession of the 17th of August, had made no mention of the Abbess of the Val de Grâce. On the very morning, therefore, of the domiciliary visit to the convent, Richelieu hastily sought an interview with the Queen, and extracted from her further admissions; which Anne gave thus, under her own sign-manual, and sent by Le Gras to the minister:—

"The Queen has commanded me further to inform Monseigneur l'Eminentissime Cardinal-Duc de Richelieu, as follows:—

"That she confesses to have given a cipher to La Porte, to use in his correspondence with the Marquis de Mirabel, in order that he might write to the said Marquis the items mentioned in her declaration of the 17th day of this month; and that the said La Porte returned to her said Majesty the cipher, which the Queen burnt.

"That her Majesty knows that the Duke de Lorraine sent an envoy to Madame de Chevreuse; but she is not aware whether it was to treat concerning public, or private affairs,—her Majesty not wishing, or intending to accuse Madame de Chevreuse in this matter; but she leaves it to La Porte to confess what he may know of the affair.

"It is true that Madame de Chevreuse visited her Majesty twice in the Val de Grâce, during her

second exile to Dampierre: she also owns to have received letters from the said Dame de Chevreuse at the said Val de Grâce. Moreover, quite recently, a man was sent to convey news of Madame de Chevreuse to the Queen, when at the Val de Grâce.

"That her Majesty wrote many times from the Val de Grâce to Madame de Chevreuse, before the outbreak of the war.

"That the Chevalier de Montague visited her Majesty once at the Val de Grâce, where also, she received several letters from the said lord, sent through Auger; the said letters being only complimentary effusions. Letters also were sent by Montague for Madame de Chevreuse.

"That when the Queen was at Lyons, and wrote to the Abbess of Val de Grâce to forward letters in the words, 'Give these to your relative,' her Majesty thereby meant to say, 'Send these letters to Madame de Chevreuse.'" *

The King's assertion to La Hautefort, "that the Queen was a traitor to her friends," seems rather confirmed by Anne's gratuitous statements relative to her devoted friend, the Duchesse de Chevreuse. From these last admissions Richelieu framed his instructions to his examiners at Val de Grâce; and for the personages, whom he was about to

* MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 4068. Nouvelle Declaration de la Reine, 22 Aoust, 1637.

dispatch to interrogate Madame de Chevreuse. The Cardinal doubtless wished to have all the high personages concerned at his mercy; though perhaps, he might not choose to submit them all to that of King Louis.

"INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN UNDER THE HAND OF M. DE NOYERS, FOR THE EXAMINATION OF THE ABBESS OF LE VAL DE GRACE.*

"The Queen has confessed that when she directed the Abbess thus—'*Donnez cette lettre à votre parente*,' that she meant to indicate the Duchesse de Chevreuse.

"That she often wrote from the Val de Grâce to persons in Spain, when the Marquis de Mirabel was in Paris.

"That she has confided to the care of the Abbess two reliquaries, and some jewels.

"These three confessions cannot comprehend all; therefore it will be necessary to put the following queries to the Abbess, Louise de Milley :—

"Inquire of the said Abbess, if the Queen never wrote in her convent? Ask her also, whether the Queen wrote during the residence of the Marquis de Mirabel in Paris? and how often, and to whom? And what the direction meant on one of the letters —'*Donnez cette lettre à votre parente*'?

"If the said Abbess persists in saying that she was

* Ibid. Instructions de la main de De Noyers adressées au Chancelier pour interroger La Porte, et l'Abbesse du Val de Grâce.

to give the letter to one of her own relatives, and not to Madame de Chevreuse, a fresh oath is to be administered to her, and she is to be again exhorted to speak the truth. If she continues to persist in her assertion, it is to be represented to her, how miserable and degraded is her perjured state, seeing that the Queen has confessed quite the contrary to the King; allowing, that while the Marquis de Mirabel was here, she often wrote letters from the Val de Grâce, addressed to personages in Spain and Flanders, and confessing that the words, '*Donnez cette lettre à votre parente,*' were meant to designate Madame de Chevreuse.

"You will then take notice whether the said Abbess contradicts her Majesty's assertion, or confirms it.

"She is then to be asked—whether the Queen has confided to her care any papers, packets, ciphers, or other things? If she denies that such is the fact, another oath is to be administered; then if she still persists in her assertion, she is to be told that the Queen admits to have confided to her care a large, and a small reliquary, and jewels."

Furnished with these instructions, commissioners were sent down to Bussière, to interrogate the Abbess for the second time, August 28th. She then confessed that the Queen had often written letters in her convent, though she knew not to whom they were addressed; that Madame de Chevreuse went under the *sobriquet* of *sa parente;* that she

knew nothing of the Queen's employment when at the convent, but she received her Majesty at the portal of the convent, led her through the *grille*, and to the door of her private parlour; that she had no acquaintance with La Porte; that she had received the two reliquaries in trust for the Queen, both of which might be found at the convent—also, the jewels, which Madame de la Flotte could identify; that she had spoken the truth; that the Queen had often written from the Val de Grâce, but had not informed the Abbess of the contents of her letters; and that all letters sent from the convent had been asked for in the name of the Duchesse de Chevreuse.*

The interrogatories put to La Porte in the Bastille were of much the same character; and referred rather to the Queen's clandestine correspondence seven years back than to the present charges against her. The devotion manifested by La Porte was heroic; and ought to have been put forth in a better cause. He avowed that he had carried letters to and from the Val de Grâce to Madame de Chevreuse; but vehemently denied that the Queen had foreign correspondents: or that he had holden intercourse in her behalf, with the foes of France. His cool self-possession never varied. Nothing could be extracted damaging to the reputation of the Queen or of Madame de Chevreuse; except, that in defiance of

* MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr., 4068. Interrogatorie de l'Abbesse du Val de Grâce, de 28 Aoust.

the royal prohibition they corresponded, and sometimes used numerals as a cipher. His first interrogatory occurred on the 13th of August. All that was obtained from La Porte in the way of avowal was, that the figure 2, in the letter found in his pocket, meant the Queen; the number 3, M. le Cardinal; 19, Madame de Chevreuse; 15, M. de Montbazon, &c. His second examination took place on the 14th of August, and again La Porte obstinately denied that the Queen had any foreign correspondents as far as he knew; all that he could testify to—were letters of the year 1630, addressed to Madame de Chevreuse; and the two letters taken from him, which were intended for the same noble lady. By the command of the King, whose suspicions were excited by the discrepancy between La Porte's statements and the Queen's confession, Anne's apartments in the Louvre were examined. Séguier was also commanded to search the hôtel de Chevreuse; and to bring every paper found therein, or in the Louvre, direct to the King. The result was, the capture of a few more letters of ancient date, both in the handwriting of the Queen and of the Duchess, in which the Cardinal was very hardly treated by both. As it was evident, that Anne had not avowed all her dealings with the foes of France, when through the Cardinal she obtained pardon, but on the contrary had afterwards made fresh revelations, Louis resolved that she should undergo a fresh examination before

the Chancellor Pierre de Séguier; the point especially to be elicited being, what had become of the correspondence known to have been harboured at the Val de Grâce? This ordeal Anne was compelled to submit to on the 22nd of August, but there exists no *procès-verbal* of its course. M. Cousin, in his admirable life of Madame de Chevreuse, doubts that the Queen was ever subjected to this indignity at all; but Madame de Motteville, and the famous Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Siri, and others, assert in their Memoirs that the examination did in reality occur. Madame de Motteville indeed, states the fact on the authority of Anne of Austria, in whose service she remained to the end of the Queen's life. It is nevertheless, proved by modern research that Anne was never subjected to the outrage of having her pockets, the bosom of her dress, and her farthingale searched like a common felon, by the Chancellor, as has been universally asserted in all narratives of the events of this period. The scene of the Queen's humiliation was said to have been her apartment in the Val de Grâce; but Anne was at Chantilly during the whole of these proceedings; while the true revelation of what occurred on the visit of Séguier to the convent, is still on record under his own hand and seal, in the Bibliothèque Impériale. "It was at Chantilly," relates Madame de Motteville, "that this grand affair occurred; the very remembrance of which in after days inspired the Queen with horror. It was supposed that the Cardinal wished to reduce her to

extremity by his measures, that he might send her back to Spain."

Anne meanwhile continued at Chantilly in agonies of suspense. Distrusting the Cardinal, and dreading lest the torture would wring from her faithful La Porte, admissions which Richelieu might find it impossible to conceal from the King, almost distracted her with apprehension. It was besides, imperative that La Porte should confirm her confessions, as much for the satisfaction of the King as for his own escape from cruel torture, which would certainly be mercilessly applied by Laffémas, until he had owned all she had declared that he knew. An attempt to communicate with La Porte in order to inform him what she had avowed, became therefore, highly important for Anne's safety. She had written, after her interview with Séguier, to her faithful Marie de Hautefort, detailing the course of events, the admissions she had made, and imploring her friend, by every pathetic entreaty, to devise some means of communicating with La Porte in the Bastille, and with Madame de Chevreuse at Tours. Anne's appeal was answered by self-sacrificing devotion on the part of Mademoiselle de Hautefort; indeed there are on record few more touching instances of courageous affection. Within the Bastille, the Chevalier de Jars still lingered, his sentence of death, as has been before related, having been commuted on the scaffold to imprisonment for life in that fortress. It occurred, therefore, to Made-

moiselle de Hautefort, that M. de Jars, who had already twice paid the penalty of a terrible punishment for his attachment to the fortunes of the Queen, might be again induced to risk his life a third time in her cause.* With M. de Jars, however, Mademoiselle de Hautefort had no acquaintance; she therefore applied to Madame de Villarceaux, a niece of the late Lord-Keeper, who was intimately acquainted with the poor prisoner, and was, at stated intervals, permitted to visit him in the Bastille. Madame de Villarceaux pitied the Queen, and agreed to ask M. de Jars whether he could assist her in this extremity? Suffering had made the Chevalier cautious, and De Jars declined to compromise the miserable position which he owed to the King's clemency;† adding, that in itself the thing was impossible, as La Porte was incarcerated in a deep dungeon, and was never suffered to see the light of day, except when brought before his judges for examination.

Madame de Villarceaux communicated her failure to La Hautefort. The latter, upon consideration, resolved to incur the risk of writing a letter to De Jars, which Madame de Villarceaux promised to carry in person. The interview between M. de Jars and his

* François de Rochechouart, Chevalier de Jars, had suffered exile for his connivance in the revels of the Court when at Amiens, and attended his friend the Duke of Buckingham to England. On his return to France, he again imprudently suffered himself to be drawn into the correspondence between Châteauneuf and Madame de Chevreuse, and had been accused of carrying Anne's correspondence to Monsieur.

† De Jars was then a prisoner at large within the precincts of the fortress.

friend took place in an inner court of the prison, where vigilant eyes could watch the actions of the imprisoned persons thus favoured. De Jars, nevertheless, was able to read the letter; but again refused to tamper in any new intrigue. In despair at her repeated failures, Mademoiselle de Hautefort resolved to accompany Madame de Villarceaux in disguise, see M. de Jars, and lay upon him the peremptory commands of the Queen, that he should again serve her. Mademoiselle de Hautefort, therefore, joined her friend early one morning in the disguise of a *soubrette;* over this costume she threw a large, coarse cloak, having a wide hood, in which she concealed her face. It was an unusual privilege, that of admitting female visitors to see a prisoner in the Bastille upon three consecutive days, under the iron rule of the then captain of the Bastille, who was the elder brother of the Capuchin Joseph; and still more so, to admit the same persons, and to leave them to discourse freely. It is just possible, therefore, that Richelieu might have been an unsuspected confederate in Mademoiselle de Hautefort's project. There exists, however, no evidence to confirm the supposition, except the extreme improbability that Mademoiselle de Hautefort and her friend, were able to outwit the minister, and his Argus-eyed jailers at the Bastille, in the manner which they subsequently achieved. The pair, on the morning of the 26th of August, therefore, drove to the Bastille, and on demand, were admitted into the little court. The

hour was so early, that the Chevalier had not yet quitted his cell. Madame de Villarceaux therefore, sent a message to the effect, that she wished to see him without delay, as she had brought the sister of his sick valet de chambre, who, having been given over by the doctor, had sent his sister to speak to his master on urgent affairs. The Chevalier, knowing that his valet was in perfect health, began to suspect some unwelcome, and perhaps dangerous solicitations, and very unwillingly descended to greet his friend, Madame de Villarceaux. The supposed *soubrette* advanced towards him, apparently in great distress; presently she took his hand, and raised her hood. "What, Madame, it is you!" exclaimed M. de Jars, aghast. Mademoiselle de Hautefort let her hood drop, and putting her finger to her lips, made a curtsey, and assuming the deportment of one in her apparent condition, said, "You may well be surprised, Monsieur, to see me here, but your astonishment will increase when you learn that I come by the absolute command of the Queen." Marie then took a paper from her pocket, and giving it the Chevalier, continued,—"This, Monsieur, is what the Queen has given me to confide to you; you are required to employ your influence and wit in this horrible place, to cause that small paper to reach the hands of the prisoner La Porte, who is confined here in a dungeon. I feel assured, Monsieur, knowing your loyalty and your love for our dear royal mistress, that you will not abandon

her in this hour of her extreme peril. I have already, through Madame de Villarceaux, attempted to secure to her Majesty your aid, without which I dare not contemplate the future." De Jars hesitated; suffering had broken his courage, and had impaired his powers of resource. Mademoiselle de Hautefort perceived his agitation; tears trembled in her own eyes, as she hurriedly exclaimed, "Oh, Monsieur! Monsieur! can you hesitate to serve the Queen? Do I not run also perilous risks? for if I should be discovered, what would become of me?" De Jars at length said, "The will of the Queen shall be performed as far as I am able. I see no alternative. God help me! I have just escaped the scaffold—and this affair, if discovered, will again consign me to death—but I am worn out, broken in health! Say to the Queen, Madame, that as I served her in the days of hopeful youth, I now devote to her the remnant of my life."* He then concealed the Queen's letter in his sleeve; the two ladies hurried from the prison, and returned without accident to the Louvre.

A few hours later the King arrived at the Louvre, and commanded the presence of Marie de Hautefort, and of his confessor. Nothing tran-

* Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.—Motteville, Mém. t. 1. p. 83. "Ce fut en cette occasion que Madame de Hautefort, voulant généreusement se sacrifier pour la Reine, se déguisa en demoiselle suivante, pour aller à la Bastille donner une lettre à La Porte; ce qui se fit avec beaucoup de peine, et de danger pour elle, par l'habileté du commandeur de Jars qui était encore prisonnier, et était créature de la Reine," &c.

spired relative to either of these interviews; and the King, after giving audience to Séguier and others, returned to Chantilly. Louis was gloomy and ill; he was evidently displeased that no progress had been made in the elucidation of the problem of the Queen's innocence or guilt; for nothing could divert him from the persuasion, that the perusal of the letters which he hoped to have seized in the Val de Grâce, and the confessions of La Porte, would throw light on the fall of the fortresses of Corbie, and La Capelle; and on the treacherous surrender of Câtelet to the Spaniards.

The Chevalier de Jars, meanwhile, considered how he could best discharge the perilous mission confided to him; and which he set about under the conviction that his life would be sacrificed in the attempt. The Queen ever held the lives and fortunes of her friends cheap, when her interest prompted a sacrifice. The King was right, when he declared that Anne's disposition was ungrateful, and egotistical. La Porte was a prisoner *au secret*, immured in one of the deepest dungeons of the Bastille. The Chevalier at length ascertained that the dungeon of La Porte was under the tower in which he himself was imprisoned. His room was at the top of the tower; below were two other cells, and in the one on the basement story, immediately over the den in which La Porte lay, was a certain Baron de Tenance, and one Réveillon, a servant of the unfortunate Marshal de Marillac. De Jars commenced operations by making a hole in the floor of

his room. When he had accomplished this undertaking in the night, he was able to communicate with the inmates of the cell below, who were two poor clowns, imprisoned for seditious conduct at Bordeaux. They agreed to help in the design; and, during the subsequent night, they also succeeded in piercing their floor, and in communicating with the prisoners below. De Jars, on learning their success, and who the prisoners were, lowered a small fragment of paper, on which he wrote his object, and implored their aid in communicating with the prisoner below. "They promised to serve him," relates La Porte in his Memoirs,* "for prisoners are inspired with the strongest kindness for each other. The said prisoners, therefore, made a hole in the flooring of their room under which was my dungeon, which hole they concealed, during the day, by putting over it the leg of their table. When they heard my soldier open the door of my dungeon to perform some necessary service in the morning, knowing therefore that during that brief interval I was alone, they lowered to me the letter which they had received. The first letter which I got simply informed me that a lady had been making inquiries about me, who desired to know what questions had been put in my interrogatories; and also, to give me some important information, which should be imparted on receiving assurance that this first letter had reached me safely.

* Mém de La Porte (Pettitot Coll.), p. 370.

That I was to confide in the writer—who was a prisoner also, and the devoted servant of my mistress, and that he warned me to confide in no one; but to suspect everybody in the Bastille except himself. I had, however, neither pen nor ink to make reply, besides, I suspected the writer. Two days afterwards, when my soldier had left my cell on his accustomed errands, I saw another letter descend to me, which reproached me for not writing; and which gave me some important hints from the quarter my advices came. I therefore took courage, and the same night, when my soldier was asleep, I softly rose, and placing myself before the lamp with my back to him, I crushed a little coal, which I mixed with cinder-dust, burnt straw, and kneaded with oil from my lamp. Then I took a straw, and scrawled upon the back of a letter-cover which they had left in my pocket, that so many things had been demanded of me that I could not answer the questions; but that I had confessed nothing which could injure any one. When my soldier again left me, the prisoners above spoke to me, hearing the door of my dungeon open; and they then lowered to me a thread with a little pebble attached, to which I tied my letter, which they instantly drew up." The following day, the letter written by Anne of Austria reached La Porte. "I was then fully instructed what the Queen had acknowledged, and therefore what facts it was requisite that I should confess at my next interrogation." This narrative, extraordinary as it appears,

is confirmed by authentic evidence, besides being related by La Porte himself. The plotters were never discovered; and M. de Jars suffered no additional penalty for his chivalrous devotion. The question which naturally occurs is—could it be probable that in the Bastille itself, it was possible, in the space of four days, for prisoners to perforate, unknown to their jailers, three floorings of one of the strongest towers of the fortress; to communicate with each other through the fissures thus made; and finally, to penetrate to a prisoner in a dungeon under ground, constantly guarded by a soldier, in the brief intervals in which he was left alone, and through an aperture in the roof of his dungeon, without attracting attention, or discovery? The incident seems drawn from the pages of romance, instead of being a veritable episode of prison-life within that dreadful fortress. Anne's secret, moreover, was known by de Jars, by the Bordeaux captives, by MM. de Tenance and de Réveillon, who all preserved religious silence on the event. That the deed was accomplished there is no reason to doubt: but whether the prisoners deceived their governor M. de Tremblay, or his brother the wily Capuchin, or his Eminence the Cardinal, as they fancied and believed, or that their purpose was connived at by these personages, is a point which may be surmised but never ascertained.

La Porte received his information not a day too soon. On the 27th of August he was summoned

before Séguier, who was attended by Laffémas and La Potherye. On the 19th of August, Séguier, who seems to have proceeded in good earnest with the investigation, had written to Richelieu to inform him of the little progress made. "La Porte," writes the Chancellor, "has been now interrogated three times. Your Eminence will perceive, that he stoutly refuses to afford any information on the matters mentioned by the Queen in the letter taken from him. M. de la Potherye awaits an order to proceed again to La Bussière; it is requisite to continue the process and the interrogatories of the Abbess of Val de Grâce. I have sent an order to Patrocle,* and to his wife, to repair to Bourges, according to the command which I received from the King. He intends to obey; but declares he is innocent. He has written to the King; which letter I send to your Eminence, to present, if you should deem it expedient."†

La Porte's fourth examination took place in the torture-vault of the Bastille. Surrounded by the terrible implements, lurid light shining only within the chamber, exhausted by hunger, and by the pestilential atmosphere of his cell, Anne's faithful servant was again summoned to confess the enterprises which he had undertaken in her behalf. Falling on his knees La Porte now promised to make ample confes-

* This Patrocle was a valet de chambre in the service of the Queen, upon whom the suspicions of the King had fallen.

† MS. Bibl. Imp. Supl. Fr. 1068.

sion, on the sole condition that Anne would send one of her officers to command him to speak. The judges consulted together, when Séguier desired the prisoner to name the person whom he wished to see. La Porte asked for La Rivière, an officer of the Queen's household, and a friend of M. de Laffémas — a person in whom he placed no trust; but whom, with wonderful dexterity, being instructed beforehand in what he was to avow, he requested to see, in order to disarm suspicion. It so happened that this La Rivière was a prisoner in the Bastille, where he had been consigned for some trifling offence. La Porte therefore was sent back to his dungeon for a few hours, and the sitting suspended. Séguier, meantime, communicated with the King, believing that important revelations were at last forthcoming. Louis approved of the decision of the judges, and unhesitatingly directed that a fictitious message should be delivered as from the Queen, by La Rivière; whose mission was to be further authenticated by the important credential of a letter addressed to La Porte in the Queen's own hand, commanding him expressly to confess everything.* How this letter was extorted there is no record; probably the stern order of her consort in person, left Anne no alternative but to submit to this fresh ordeal. During the night of the 27th of August,

* "Le Roi commanda à la Reine d'écrire de sa main à La Porte, pour lui commander de dire tout ce qu'il savait: mais comme il crut qu'elle avait été forcée d'écrire cette lettre, il ne changea rien en sa conduite." —Mém. de Motteville, t. 1, p. 85.

the same personages met again, surrounded by the same grim *entourage*. "La Rivière," writes Séguier, in his *procès-verbal* of the examination, "being sent for, explained to the prisoner that her Majesty commanded him to reveal the truth, otherwise she would for ever abandon, and desert him. The said La Porte then dropped on his knees, saying that, as the Queen willed it, he would confess all that he knew; to whit—that about eight months ago, by order of the Queen, he conveyed four or five small packets to a person named Auger, who lived in the Faubourg St. Germain; and that he had been to the same house to receive letters for the Queen, which were given to him; that he denied any intimacy with M. Auger, and had never spoken to him but once, when the said Auger was leaving the Queen's apartments in the Louvre. He also confessed that the Queen had recently given him a paper which he had the curiosity to peruse, and found to be the cipher used in her correspondence with Madrid. He kept it only one day, as he was ignorant what he was to do with it, the Queen never having given directions; that he knew nothing of the envoy sent to Madame de Chevreuse from Lorraine, and strenuously denied knowledge thereof. He denied that he was in the habit of carrying letters to the Val de Grâce, and stated that he had attended the convent chapel once only—on a Good Friday. Being asked if M. Patrocle, usher to the Queen, knew of the late *menées?* he replied, that he was not aware

that the Queen had ever employed the said Patrocle, in secret, on important missions. La Porte added that he knew of nothing more; but after he had received permission from her Majesty, he resolved to avow all frankly. That the reason he had before denied knowledge of that which he now confessed, was that he wished to keep his fidelity without alloy to the Queen his mistress; but that, having been exonerated by the permission of her Majesty, he gladly relieved his conscience by avowal." * So admirable did La Porte's constancy appear to Richelieu, that he was heard to lament that he possessed not so faithful a servant.

The Cardinal, meantime, took the singular resolve to confer privately and invisibly, with La Porte. Chavigny had apartments at the Arsenal, in the garden of which a broad gravel pathway led to a postern of the fortress, often used by the late Duc de Sully in his double capacity of Grand Master of Artillery and Governor of the Bastille. Richelieu placed himself upon Chavigny's bed, and, drawing the curtains closely round, commanded the prisoner to be brought into the chamber. La Porte instantly recognised the voice of the Cardinal; a fact, which his circumspect, and respectful replies betrayed. Finding that he could elicit nothing further by way of evidence, Richelieu admonished La Porte, in the name of the Queen, to make a clean breast, and referred to her

* MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 1068. Dernier Interrogatoire de La Porte.

Majesty's late letter. "I am amazed," replied La Porte, "that her Majesty has again thought it necessary to command me to confess the truth, seeing that my various interrogatories have doubtless been submitted to her inspection, by which she might perceive that I have told all I knew. Nevertheless, if to speak falsely will serve her Majesty, although it would doubtless consign me to the scaffold, I am ready to obey and submit." *

Richelieu probably was not the dupe of La Porte's affected simplicity; he had convicted the Queen fully and utterly, by her own verbal confession, under her own hand and seal, and by the incontrovertible evidence of the papers he had openly produced—without reference to any documents which he might choose to suppress. The alternative cannot be evaded, that either the Queen, informed of the proceedings about to be taken against her, found means to destroy her papers at the Val de Grâce; or that Richelieu caused a surreptitious seizure to be made thereof, to be used according to circumstances, and at his pleasure. The painful dismay evinced by Anne, when at Chantilly she heard of the arrest of La Porte from Mademoiselle de Hautefort, seems to be quite at variance with a notion that she was expecting, and prepared to encounter the storm. Aware that no treasonable correspondence existed to convict her, she could have afforded to wait tranquilly

* Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis Treize, t. I.—Mém. de Richelieu.—Mém. de Madame de Motteville, t. I.

the manœuvres of the Cardinal; and to brave, as she had so often done before, the wrath of the King her husband.

To restore a semblance of festivity, and concord at Chantilly, the Cardinal caused numerous invitations to be issued. It was necessary to show to the country at large that the Queen was not a prisoner, nor in immediate peril of divorce, or of imprisonment for life in the fortress of Hâvre, as it was reported all over the realm. The King, also, had sunk into a fit of morbid gloom, from which nothing seemed to rouse him, deepened by the conviction, that one night, on passing along a gallery of the château, he had seen the apparition of the late Marshal de Montmorency.

Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and her troop of young and noble maidens, her playfellows, were therefore summoned to make the sombre château ring with merriment. "After I arrived at Chantilly," relates this shrewd young lady, who was then only ten years old, "I put everyone in good humour. The King was devoured with melancholy, and suspicions, which had been inspired by the Queen. The Queen was in bed, and ill; which she might well have been for a smaller cause than the affront which she had just received—for the Chancellor had examined her at Chantilly, on the day preceding that of my arrival. She was in the first agony of her grief at this affront; which, however, the presence of Madame de St. George allayed, as it was

through her that the Queen now determined to continue her intercourse with Monsieur." *

* Mém. de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, t. 1. Madame de St. George was Jeanne de Harley—one of the ladies once in attendance on Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, and who had been dismissed by Charles I., for her intrigues at the English court, and her noisy querulousness of disposition. Madame de St. George on her return to France had been appointed governess to Mademoiselle.

CHAPTER II.

1637—1639.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, MOTHER OF THE DAUPHIN.

The Duchess de Chevreuse, during this interval, had not escaped the shock which was rending the court. Neither the Queen, nor her friend, Mademoiselle de Hautefort, dared to incur the suspicion of correspondence with a personage so distrusted by the minister. After her visit to the Bastille, Mademoiselle de Hautefort sent her cousin, M. de Montalais, to Tours, to seek, accidentally as it should appear, an interview with the duchess, to impart the import of Anne's avowals; and the stage which the judicial proceedings had reached. M. de Montalais was also desired to reassure the duchess by a promise from Marie de Hautefort to give her timely notice, should affairs assume a serious aspect, by sending her a book of Hours bound in red velvet; while, if matters were likely to be amicably settled, a volume of Hours bound in green velvet should apprise Madame de Chevreuse of the felicitous news.* Envoys, dispatched

* Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

in the King's name, however, soon waited upon the duchess, to subject her to severe interrogatories. The noblemen thus sent were the Marshal de la Meilleraye, the Bishop of Auxerre, and the Abbé Dorat, treasurer of the Sainte Chapelle, who was a personage known, and trusted by the duchess. The private instructions of the commissioners empowered them to apply every pressure to extort confession: if Madame de Chevreuse denied her guilt, and audaciously defied their authority, the envoys were instructed to commit her a close prisoner in the neighbouring castle of Loches—that fortress of evil repute for its *oubliettes*, and darksome prison cells. M. de la Meilleraye, who was a near kinsman of the Cardinal's, was commissioned to assure the duchess of the good will of Richelieu, who still acknowledged himself the slave of her charms, and her wit; in proof of which, M. le Cardinal, being informed that her pecuniary circumstances were embarrassed, from the narrow income allowed her by the Duc de Chevreuse, had sent her 10,000 livres in gold. Madame de Chevreuse laughed in her sleeve, demurely accepted the gift, protesting that she had nothing to confess, but would answer any interrogatories put to her. Aware that the letter had been seized, in which she had proposed to Anne of Austria to pay her a clandestine visit, the duchess was able to return an apparently candid, and truthful reply to the questions put to her upon this subject. "I protest," replied she, "that in making

this proposition, I had no other object in view, excepting to pay my respects to the Queen; and to transact a few private affairs of my own in Paris. Far from intending to prejudice her Majesty against the Cardinal, it was my firm intent to exert all the influence which I possessed in his behalf!" She then proceeded to eulogise the administration of the Cardinal, and to make great protestations of future friendship. The duchess, however, was thoroughly on the alert; she distrusted and knew the value of Richelieu's fine protestations; she appreciated the dislike of the King, and the danger to which she was exposed, relative to her correspondence with Lorraine. The duke her husband, upon being asked, whether he would answer for her appearance if summoned to Paris; and whether he would undertake to put a stop to future clandestine correspondences, replied by a shrug, and an emphatic negative.* Anne's friend, meantime, the Prince de Marsillac,† heir of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, had been significantly warned by Richelieu to refrain from visits, or correspondence of any kind, with the exiled duchess. His father, moreover, had extorted an oath, that he would avoid such communication; threatening, in case of disobedience, that which in the present temper of the court it would

* Tallemant des Réaux, t. 2.

† François, second Duc de la Rochefoucauld, born in 1613, author of the Maxims, and of the History of the Regency of Anne of Austria. The duke married the only daughter and heiress of André de Vivonne, Seigneur de la Chateigneraie. He died March 17, 1680.

have been easy to obtain—a *lettre de cachet* to imprison him in the Bastille. The young prince, in despair at being thus obliged to abandon his royal mistress, did the best thing for her interests which he could, under the circumstances—he communicated confidentially with Sir Herbert Croft, who was at Douay, and induced him to repair in disguise to Tours. Croft succeeded in his mission; and after two secret interviews with the duchess, raised her alarm to the highest pitch of terror; and in her haste to avoid incarceration at Loches, she resolved to fly from France, and take refuge in Spain, with the brother of her good, and persecuted royal mistress. Madame de Chevreuse was the more resolved to adhere to this resolution upon learning privately from the Marshal de la Meilleraye the terms which would insure her exemption from arrest. The Cardinal prescribed the cessation, total and complete, of intercourse of any description with Anne of Austria; her acknowledgment, that she had guiltily and maliciously incited Queen Anne to acts of disloyalty to the realm and to the King; and her voluntary retreat back, and continued residence at the Château de Milly. Hastily, therefore, the duchess made preparation for flight; her jewels, which were valued at the sum of 400,000 francs—spoils taken from the unfortunate Marquis d'Ancre—she sent by Croft to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld and his son, at Verteuil, with a paper, by which she bequeathed the jewels to the

Prince de Marsillac, in case of her death. The money sent to her by Richelieu amply sufficed for her wants during her journey. On the 6th of September, therefore, the duchess, after undergoing a fourth ordeal before Richelieu's envoys, pretended illness and lassitude to a degree, which, she said, nothing but a solitary evening drive in her coach could relieve. The duchess set out unmolested, and continued her drive until nine o'clock; when at a given spot the coach stopped, and she alighted in the dress of a cavalier, having managed during the route from Tours to effect that transformation. A faithful servant, probably the brother of La Porte, was in waiting with a saddle-horse, which the intrepid duchess mounted, and, without attendants or baggage of any kind, set off in headlong flight to the frontier.* The coach returned by a circuitous way to Tours, and drew up before her door, with all due ceremony, as if its mistress was about to descend and enter the mansion. By this stratagem the flight of Madame de Chevreuse was unknown until the middle of the following day, when she was beyond pursuit. The duchess rode, without drawing rein, until she arrived at Ruffec, a place one league from Verteuil, the magnificent palace of the La Rochefoucaulds. Unwilling to compromise her friends, and yet being in urgent need of assistance, Madame de Chevreuse wrote hastily the following note to the Prince de Marsillac at a way-side hostelry, which she sent up to the

* Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.—Tallemant, t. 1.

château by a peasant boy: "MONSIEUR,—The writer of this note is a French gentleman, who implores your help to save his life. He has unfortunately fought a duel, and killed his antagonist, a gentleman of rank, which sudden event obliges him to fly from France to escape arrest. You, monseigneur, he hears, are likely to be generous enough to afford your protection to an unknown. He implores you, therefore, to lend him a coach and servants, to help him on the way."

"I sent my own coach," states the young Prince de Marsillac, when interrogated on the affair, "with a servant named Poter, who had a suspicion that the distressed cavalier was Madame de Chevreuse." * "One hundred yards from my master's château I met a young cavalier, wearing a flaxen wig, who appeared almost spent with fatigue. He entered the coach alone, and immediately threw himself at the bottom to repose," was the evidence of the servant. Poter drove Madame de Chevreuse rapidly to a lone hunting seat, where she arrived at three o'clock in the morning, and was received by one Malbasty, a trusted retainer of La Rochefoucauld. Madame de Chevreuse rested some hours; then, still being attended by Poter and Malbasty, she again took horse. She wore a black casaque, and doublet and hose, boots, spurs, and rapier; and her forehead was bound with a scarf of black taffetas, to protect a wound, which she pretended to have received in the duel. At the first halt after leaving the

* La Rochefoucauld, Mém. p. 326—7, et seq

house of M. de la Rochefoucauld, the little hostelry was full of people, and she was obliged to rest on a truss of hay in an outhouse, and was soon in a deep sleep. So fair and gracious was the aspect of the sleeping young cavalier, that a kind, honest farmer's wife of the district, passing by, was lost in admiration. "Never did I behold so fair and comely a lad!" exclaimed she, her heart melting with compassion at the comfortless plight of the stranger. "Monsieur, come and rest in my house; it will be a pleasure to serve such as you." Onwards, however, in her painful flight, Madame de Chevreuse was compelled to hasten: Richelieu's myrmidons were Argus-eyed, and were spread over every province of France. Once she was near capture by the Marquis d'Antin and a band of bold retainers. Again, when close to Bayonne, a gentleman at the head of a troop of followers rode up to take a closer inspection of so jaunty a cavalier, and swift horseman. "Par le Sang-Dieu!" exclaimed the rough Béarnais gentleman, "if Monsieur were not dressed *en cavalier,* I should say that I saw the Duchesse de Chevreuse!" "Monsieur, I have the honour to be related nearly to the said lady duchess!" replied the brave woman, with a laugh, as she galloped past, waving her cap to the Béarnais, and his motley *entourage.* To troublesome inquirers as to her name, rank, and business, the duchess mysteriously hinted that she was the young Duke d'Enghien, flying to escape

the Bastille for an *intrigue d'amour*, in which a life had been lost. At length, after several weary days, the bourne was attained, and the rocky heights of Irun rose before the eager gaze of the poor fugitive. Flight then became unnecessary; and Madame de Chevreuse, beyond the power of her adversary, had leisure to summon resolution, and courage for fresh enterprise; especially, as the corregidor of Irun, upon hearing the name of the illustrious fugitive, called to place himself, and the resources of the town at her disposal. Madame de Chevreuse made a first use of her power, by despatching a messenger to Madrid, with letters addressed to their Catholic Majesties, praying for protection, and the loan of equipages, and an outfit suitable to her sex and station.*

The flight of Madame de Chevreuse, and her daring defiance, greatly incensed the King. Before she had crossed the frontier, half a dozen emissaries were in full chase after the fugitive, all being the bearers of pacific declarations from the Cardinal. The Duke de Chevreuse, roused for once from his sloth, despatched his steward Boispille in hot pursuit after his runaway consort. Boispille came up with his mistress at Irun only, and was there treated with some truths from her lips to

* Extrait de l'Information faite par le Président Vignier de la sortie de Madame de Chevreuse hors de France. Bibl. Imp. Dupuy, 499—500. Published also by M. Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.— Mém. de La Rochefoucauld.

convey to his master, which led him to regret his bootless journey. The envoy of the Cardinal pursued his journey with more deliberation, stopping at Tours, and at Verteuil, to examine the Archbishop, and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, on the causes of the sudden flight of the duchess; and to take cognizance of the measure in which they had been her abettors. The old Archbishop gave his evidence, weeping bitterly, for the loss which he had sustained:* "The said lady duchess called upon me to tell me that she had received warnings from two different personages, sent purposely to apprise her that it had been determined to arrest, and confine her in the Bastille, and that a troop of horse was already under orders to fetch her. She had, therefore, come to the resolve to fly from France; and that such haste was requisite that she had no choice but to retire into Spain." Vignier then continued his journey to Verteuil, leaving the prelate to mourn at leisure "the eclipse of the bright light which had shone upon his diocese." The loan of the coach by the Prince de Marsillac to Madame de Chevreuse being a high crime and misdemeanour, in the opinion of Richelieu, was punished by a painful

* "Voilà où elle *s'assisa* en me disant adieu; et où elle me dit quatre paroles qui *m'assommarent!*" exclaimed the illiterate prelate, in the fervour of his grief. One day he had a melodrama on the story of Mariamne performed to please the duchess:—"Monseigneur," said the duchess, "il me semble que nous ne sommes point touchés de la Passion comme de cette comédie." "Je crois bien, Madame:" replied the Archbishop; "ceci c'est histoire! Je l'ai lu dans Josèphe!"—Tallemant des Réaux, t. 2.

journey under arrest to Paris; and by ten days of imprisonment in the Bastille.* The President then proceeded to the Pyrenean frontier, to reprimand the incorrigible fugitive; but upon her promise of amendment, to assure her of pardon, provided she would obediently return to Tours, and agree to a sojourn of three months at Dampierre, after which she might be permitted to appear again in Paris. This grace, however, was to be conceded only on the distinct understanding that the duchess forthwith quitted the Spanish territory. An imbroglio of foreign affairs in Lorraine, England, Spain, and Brussels, rose in grim array before Richelieu, if he suffered the escape from France of that *esprit brouillon,* that termagant fury, that false-lipped syren —Madame la Duchesse de Chevreuse! When Vignier arrived at Irun the duchess was already on the road to Madrid, welcomed by Philip IV. as the dear friend and fellow-sufferer of his beloved sister, Doña Aña; and cheered by the frenzied applause of the people, who flocked in crowds to gaze on her fair face and form.

Richelieu began now to tire of the judicial investigations; and, having achieved his object, he pressed the King to put an end to the public excitement, "and to the disgraceful aspect of a divided court," by giving his final fiats on the fate of the culprits still detained in durance. Anne was therefore suffered to return to the Louvre. Louis, still unforgiving, and

* Mém. de La Rochefoucauld.—Mém. de Motteville.

still unconvinced, imposed upon the Queen a list of prohibitions, which, as applied to a wife, and to a sovereign princess, seem of unsurpassed severity, and calculated to cast a shadow on the throne itself. The rules, written entirely by the King, were presented to Anne of Austria by the Cardinal de Richelieu, whose exhortations doubtless schooled her rebellious heart to outward submission.

"NOTE OF THE MATTERS TO WHICH I REQUIRE THE ASSENT OF THE QUEEN.

"I desire that the Queen shall never more write to Madame de Chevreuse; because, the pretext of this correspondence has been the blind behind which she has been able to correspond abroad, and elsewhere.

"I desire that Madame de Senécé shall in future render to me a strict account of all the letters written by the Queen; and that these said letters shall be folded, and sealed in her presence.

"It is my will that Filandre, the Queen's chief dresser, shall inform me every time that the Queen writes—the which it is impossible for the Queen to do without the knowledge of the said Filandre, as she has charge of the Queen's writing implements.

"I forbid the Queen to pay visits to any convents until I give her notice of my wishes in this respect. If I should ever rescind this my command, it is my will that for the future she shall be attended in her visits to any convent whatever, by her first lady in

waiting, and by the *dame d'atours*, who are never to leave her Majesty alone.

"I beg the Queen to remember that should the fancy again seize her to hold foreign correspondences, or to communicate intelligence from this country, directly or indirectly, that in such case, she has agreed to forfeit the benefit of the oblivion which I have conceded to her past bad conduct.

"The Queen will take notice that I forbid her to see, or to hold communication with Croft, or with any other of the friends and emissaries of Madame de Chevreuse.

"Done at Chantilly, this 17th day of August, 1637.

(Signed) "Louis."

Lower down on the same paper, Anne, with trembling hand, subscribes her humble acceptance of these stern behests of her consort, thus :—

"I promise the King to observe, faithfully and religiously, all that he has been pleased to command me. "Anne."*

The abbess of the Val de Grâce, after suffering prolonged imprisonment at Bussière, was deposed from her dignity, and sent into a distant convent, as a simple nun. La Porte, after enduring imprisonment for a year in the Bastille, was released from

* Bibl. Imp. MS. Suppl. Fr. 4068. Nouvelle Déclaration de la Reine —de la main de Le Gras.

custody, and exiled to his native town of Seiches in Anjou, under the prohibition of never quitting the limits of the province, on penalty of a fresh arrest. The nuns of the Val de Grâce remained for some time under the ban of their ecclesiastical superior, the Archbishop of Paris; the rules of their Order were restored in full severity; and the fine music in their chapel, which had rendered it the resort of the *beau monde* of Paris on high festivals, was suspended. With the elevation of a new abbess* the sisterhood gradually emerged from the cloud: but for some years the fair form of the young Queen of France never crossed the threshold of her once beloved retreat.

Anne, however, was nearer being avenged on the Cardinal de Richelieu for all his evil revelations than she supposed. Throughout the painful affair the Jesuit Caussin, confessor to the King, had stood her friend; perhaps not so much out of conviction of her innocence, as from the persuasion that Anne henceforth could continue to share the throne of France only by Richelieu's sufferance, and consequently by living in complete subjection to his will. As one of the cabal to promote the deposition of the Cardinal from power, patronised by the Queen-mother and Monsieur, Caussin deemed it his duty to avail himself of the visible discontent of the King at the failure of the proceedings against La Porte, and others, to arouse the royal conscience on the heinous-

* Marie de Burges.

ness of the alliance of France with the German and Swedish heretics; on the wickedness of the attempt to separate the Duke of Orleans from his wife; and on the prolonged, and painful exile of Marie de' Medici. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, now known as La Sœur Angélique,* seconded these intrigues with all her might; and spoke with the authority of one dead to the world and its carnal influences, and alive only to the promptings of religion, honour, and truth. From the Low Countries the Queen-mother corresponded with Caussin, and exhorted him, by every holy inspiration of principle, and right, to awaken the mind of the King to the fact—that his person, his family, his realm, and his consort, were alike bound in the adamantine chains of a relentless enemy, whose Satanic ambition had no parallel on earth. Caussin even presented to the King a letter from Marie de' Medici, touching in its pathetic appeals, but yet leavened with a haughty spirit of defiance towards her ancient foe. Louis was moved. He replied, "I wish, I wish, that I could restore her, and bring her back to me; but I dare not discuss the subject with M. le Cardinal. If you can prevail, be sure that I will give

* Mademoiselle de la Fayette soon edified her community by the ardour of her devotions, and the ingenuity of her penances. One day some fruit was served on the refectory table, so worm-eaten and covered with ants as to be rejected by the nuns. La Sœur Angélique, however, ate the fruit with unction, as an act of penance, to the great admiration of the sisterhood. La Sœur Angélique eventually quitted the convent, for that at Chaillot, which needed reform and discipline. She eventually became abbess of this community, and lived in intimate friendship with Queen Henrietta Maria, who patronised the convent, in which she spent much of her time.

my sanction!"* Sometimes Louis appeared to yield to the arguments of his confessor; at other times he pleaded fatigue, and refused to listen to a word; then, again, his confessions were interwoven with ejaculations, expressive of his sorrow for the misdeeds of his minister. Caussin at length ventured to propose that the Cardinal should be dismissed, and his place filled by the Duc d'Angoulême, natural son of King Charles IX., a prince of no knowledge, firmness, or principle, and who had passed the greater part of his life a state prisoner in the Bastille. Louis, who loved to hear his minister depreciated, and who delighted to discuss proposals which made clear to him that a stroke of his pen would overthrow the omnipotent Cardinal, listened with complacency, and replied to the pleadings of the Jesuit by nods of assent, but refused to commit himself by a single written line. At this period—the latter months of the year 1637—the Bishop of Mans died, and at the suggestion of Caussin, the King gave the vacant bishopric to his sub-almoner, the Abbé de la Ferté, without previously naming the matter to Richelieu. This success fairly turned the scheming brain of the Jesuit. M. d'Angoulême one day asked his intercession with the King to insure the nomination of a lady, to whom he had promised his interest, as abbess of some sisterhood just deprived of its chief.†

* Griffet, Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII.

† Probably the community of Avenay in the vicinity of Rheims, which had just lost its young abbess, Benedicte de Gonzague de Cleves-Nevers.

Caussin promised his help, adding, that soon it would be for Monseigneur to confer favours, and not to demand them! Being pressed by the duke for an explanation, Caussin committed the folly of betraying the intrigue afloat. The duke, frightened out of all propriety by this alarming revelation, implored to be excused from accepting a position for which he was totally unqualified; adding passionately, "that the intrigue would be defeated; that Louis never meant to dismiss a minister, who, though a domestic tyrant, had filled the world with the glorious renown of France, and her king!" "Monsieur," said the Jesuit, "you will, ere long, be called upon to assume the presidency of affairs, or to return to your apartment in the Bastille." The duke, without further parley, rushed to the apartments of Chavigny* in the Arsenal, and with the voice and manner of a man who deems his life at stake, implored the minister to wait upon the Cardinal at Ruel, and impart the proposition just made by the reverend father; adding, "that he had neither share, nor blame, in the concoction of so shameless an intrigue."

Subsequent to this astonishing act of folly, Father Caussin, in the plenitude of his new-fledged power, took upon himself to affirm to the King his conviction of the perfect innocence of Anne of Austria; that her late persecution was an egregious sin; and

* "Il y a trois semaines que nous cherchons ce qui met le Roi de si mauvaise humeur, et le voilà trouvé! Je vous promets que j'en informerai M. le Cardinal à votre avantage, et que vous serez bientôt délivré de toute inquiétude," replied Chavigny, laughing.—Griffet.

that the Cardinal had trumped up the letters which witnessed against her, to serve his own unrighteous ends. Louis listened in sullen incredulity and wrath; the animosity of the Cardinal's enemies led them into the error of exaggeration; and Louis le Juste was ever ready to set himself right with his minister by betraying, and deriding a calumniator. The Cardinal makes wrathful entry of the misdeeds of Caussin in his Diary: "Of all the persons who misbehaved themselves concerning the affair of La Porte, and who testified malignant discontent towards the government, no one ventured to such lengths as good little Father Caussin, who had the temerity, the impudence, and the folly to say to the King—some months after the arrest of the said La Porte—that the discovery which had been made of letters, and of the secret intelligences which the Queen held in Flanders, in Spain, and with the Duke of Lorraine, astonished him beyond measure; as he could not understand how the Cardinal could find it in his heart to treat the Queen as he had done, seeing that he was once much attached to her Majesty, and it was known bore her yet great affection. This insinuation was dictated by the most black, and damnable malice that could possess the mind of any monk whatever. In the first place, the Cardinal did not cause the arrest of La Porte, but the King did by his absolute authority; neither was it in the power of the said Cardinal to prevent the heinous nature of the Queen's letters from becoming apparent. More-

over, the said Caussin had the audacity to accuse M. le Cardinal of a lie, on the simple assertion of a princess, convicted of having made false oaths on several occasions, and on this one especially, when she found herself compelled to acknowledge the falsity of several matters which she had sworn to be true upon the Holy Eucharist."* The Cardinal then proceeds to relate, how the King, sickening at the deceit practised by his confessor, paid him a visit one morning at Ruel, to denounce these slanderings. His Majesty afterwards declared his resolve to dismiss Caussin from his important office of confessor; and was, moreover, desirous that the said Jesuit should be exiled from Paris. The friends of Caussin relate, that the King, convinced by his remonstrances, commanded him to be at Ruel on the morning of the 9th of December, 1637, to propose the reforms in the administration needful, "for our conscience, and our welfare, and we will support you." "I pictured to myself," says Caussin, "the Cardinal furious as a great dragon, and fit to tear my eyes out, so soon as I should commence to represent, in his presence, the sins of his administration."† Caussin, it is asserted, duly presented himself at Ruel, where the King also arrived. At the last moment, according to Caussin, the courage of Louis failed; and he dared not bring his minister face to face with his accuser. The reverend father therefore received a command

* Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Amsterdam.

† Griffet, Règne de Louis XIII.—Bernard, Hist. de Louis XIII.

to retire from Ruel back to his convent in Paris. The same evening the secretary of state, de Noyers, called upon the Provincial of the Order, and delivered to him a *lettre de cachet*, which directed Caussin to leave Paris on the following morning for Rennes under the *surveillance* of an exempt of the guard; and forbidding him meantime to hold communication with any personages whatever. The prohibition was extended to "*les couvents des femmes*," evidently with a view to prevent Caussin from visiting La Sœur Angélique in the adjacent nunnery of the Visitandines. Caussin resigned himself to his fate with tolerable submission: his papers were seized and carried to the victorious Richelieu. Two months subsequently, Caussin, on reading an official statement in the Gazette on the appointment of his successor to the office of confessor to Louis XIII., which amongst other things declared "that le Père Caussin had been dismissed for his want of discretion, and for conduct so inconsiderate that the heads of his Order were surprised that he had been so long tolerated at court, rather than aggrieved by his dismissal," was imprudent enough to indite a letter of absolute denial of the charges to de Noyers. This epistle fell, of course, into the hands of Richelieu, who summoned the Provincial Binet, and, in great rage, after reading the letter aloud, insisted that Caussin should be sent on a missionary expedition to Quebec. Binet respectfully observed, "that a mission so perilous, and therefore glorious, was

considered the highest reward of saintly virtue; and therefore, it was impossible so to honour a priest lying under the censure of his superiors." Caussin was eventually routed from his peaceful retreat in the old city of Rennes, and confined to the inhospitable and rude district round Quimper; where he remained under *surveillance* until the death of the royal penitent whom he had risked so much to reform.* Mademoiselle de la Fayette, on her first interview with Louis, ventured to remonstrate, and to decry the tyrannous jealousies of the Cardinal. "What would you, Madame!" exclaimed the King, passionately. "God bestows upon every unfortunate some power of self-defence; my wife is barren, and she hates me; my mother wishes to dethrone me; my brother desires to put my crown on his head; my chief nobles dislike me—they betray me, and rebel against my power; but for M. le Cardinal, therefore, I perhaps should not long keep my throne!" Sœur Angélique, however, ventured to allude to the heavy taxation—to the alliance of Catholic France with heretic rebels—to the oppression of Richelieu's secret police, and to his ever ready Bastille warrants. His Majesty listened awhile, then suddenly rose and departed without uttering a word. In the evening, however, he sent de Noyers to the convent to say, "that he did not altogether disapprove the liberty which Sœur Angélique had taken; and that he

* "On disoit du Père Caussin, 'qu'il avait mieux fait ses affaires à la Cour Sainte (in allusion to his celebrated book), qu'à celle de France.'"

would pay her another visit in the course of a few days."

Meantime, the arm of St. Isidore arrived, and was exhibited in great pomp before the high altar of the church of Notre Dame. The Queen, attended by her ladies, received the precious relic, walking in procession from the Louvre to Notre Dame, where pontifical mass was said by the Archbishop of Paris. By command of the Cardinal, prayers were commanded in every church and chapel in the capital to obtain from God the blessing of royal progeny. Persons conversant with the daily life and habits of the royal pair, however, knew that alienation between their Majesties was never so complete, and apparently insurmountable. The Queen inhabited the Louvre; the King seldom approached that palace, except for state audiences, and receptions; but passed his time in wandering between the châteaux of Madrid, Fontainebleau, Ruel, and Chantilly. The apartments once occupied by Louis in the Louvre were actually without furniture. When their Majesties met it was observed, that, beyond the profound bow which Louis made to his consort, or rather to her chair of state, on entering or leaving the saloon, he never addressed his discourse to her, but appeared exclusively occupied with Mademoiselle de Hautefort, who had again become the object of the King's dreary homage. When her companions congratulated de Hautefort on what they termed "the return to her of the

sunshine of royal favour," she replied indifferently, "that she was glad, only, on perceiving that her influence was reviving, in order to serve the Queen her mistress, and thereby to parry the cunning thrusts of M. le Cardinal." Predictions of the approaching birth of a Dauphin nevertheless, were circulated by the hundred through every province of the realm; monks and nuns alike declared themselves inspired, and forwarded oracles to the Cardinal-minister, to lay before their Majesties. People marvelled, and discussed the miraculous revelation, which, after twenty-three years of suspense, and at a period apparently the least propitious for domestic felicity, and while evil tongues yet spoke flippantly of Anne's recent narrow escape from divorce—promised so halcyon an event. On the 3rd of November, 1637, the Holy Virgin, it was averred, appeared to le Père Fiacre, an Augustinian monk of Paris, while, in obedience to the edict, he was making diligent intercession on her Majesty's behalf. The Holy Virgin assured the monk that Anne's prayers should be granted, on condition that the Queen performed three *neuvaines* in her honour, one of which should be said in the church of Notre Dame de Grâce of Cottignac. To convince Father Fiacre that the vision was neither a dream, nor an illusion, the Virgin appeared to him as she was represented on the altar-piece of the church at Cottignac, attended by cherubs, and surrounded by radiant effulgence. Fiacre instantly waited on the Cardinal, and detailed

his vision. Richelieu, therefore, introduced him to the Queen, who listened to his narrative with mingled trepidation, and delight. Anne dispatched the monk to the church of Cottignac to verify his vision by contemplating its famous picture; and commissioned him to offer rich gifts at the sacred shrine, and to perform for her the *neuvaine* due as the condition of the miracle promised.* Another monk, le Père Vincent, on his return from a pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Savona, predicted the approaching birth of a Dauphin :—

> Enfant, qui doit porter dessus ton front empreint
> Des mille dons du ciel le divin caractère,
> La vertu de François, et l'heur de Charles Quint,
> La clémence de Henry, la valeur de son Père.

In all the Franciscan convents of the realm ceaseless petitions were especially offered to obtain the much-coveted gift; the servants of Heaven made constant prayer, and multiplied their acts of devotion, principally on the festivals of our Lord and his Holy Mother, on the feasts of St. Michael the Archangel, Standard-bearer of the Heavenly Hosts, on those of St. Denis, St. Martin, St. Remy, Ste. Anne, Ste. Geneviève, St. Louis, and St. Germain.† Richelieu, meantime, exhorted the Queen to make overtures of reconciliation to her husband; who, on his side, was admonished by Mademoiselle de Hautefort to accept these submissions, and to

* De Coste. Eloges des Dauphins de France.

† Ibid. Fondations Royales—Discours, par l'Abbé Richard.

restore to her his conjugal regard. The new confessor, the Père Sirmond, spoke to Louis earnestly, and pathetically on his systematic alienation from the wife united to him by the ministration of Holy Church; and, prompted by the Cardinal, he discussed at length from the confessional, the forlorn condition of the realm, which might perchance rejoice in the security to be conferred by the birth of an heir-apparent, if the King, actuated by a sense of duty, would no longer banish from his heart his lawful consort, the sister of the most potent monarch in Christendom.

Louis listened to these unwonted objurgations in irritable sullenness; his nerves were shaken with intermittent fever, and his dejection deepened at the perverse independence of Marie de Hautefort, who insisted on the privilege of speaking freely in return for the burdensome confidences he imposed upon her. The birth of a Dauphin had become an indispensable condition of Richelieu's future political, and personal grandeur. Monsieur hated the minister with the spite of a puny intellect; Madame, his consort, and possibly the future queen, had vowed a deep vow of vengeance for the insults inflicted by Richelieu, and for the quibbles respecting her marriage, and her consequent penury, and exile. Condé, first prince of the blood, and next in succession to Monsieur, owed the minister an equivalent for many a humiliation, and rebuff.

Madame la Princesse, Marguerite de Montmorency cried for revenge for the blood of her brother, the ill-starred, and gallant Montmorency, who perished on the scaffold at Toulouse. In the *entourage* of Gaston the King, Richelieu, moreover, saw Marie de' Medici, returned from her ignominious exile, wielding at will the sceptre of her incapable, and frivolous son, fervid in her wrath, and ready to execute the oath attributed to her—"to cause the head of M. le Cardinal to roll in the dust, which had licked up the blood of that true knight and nobleman, Montmorency!" A Dauphin, therefore, was the only safeguard for the life, the liberty, and the future power of the haughty Cardinal. The steadily declining health of the King foretold that at no distant period the throne would become vacant—a vista of power and glory absolutely dazzling, unfolded before Richelieu during the consequent long minority, when all the functions of the crown might centre in the hands of a feeble woman as Regent of France—a princess ignorant of politics; bound to her minister, perhaps, by the fetter of a terrible secret; and timid in the assertion of her prerogative as a queen, by the yoke of years of repression, and seclusion. The King hated his brother, and abhorred his sister-in-law, whose children he intended to disown as princes of the blood; but he was inspired, in common with the other princes of Europe, with chivalrous veneration for his wife's kindred, the dynasty of Charles Quint, and for the power of the Catholic

king. This feeling had saved Queen Anne from divorce. A son, therefore, would be welcomed, it was presumed, by King Louis, in order to displace Monsieur, his heir-presumptive; while respect for the august dignity of a Queen-Infanta must stifle the impertinent conjecture of the captious, even if profane doubts awoke in the mind of the princes interested in the purity of the succession. Through Father Carré, who still diligently performed his functions at court as confessor to the Queen's ladies and maidens, and informer to the Cardinal, Sœur Angélique was enlisted to lecture Louis on his domestic delinquencies. The month of December, 1637, thus approached, the Queen making sojourn in the Louvre, and being still fettered by the restrictions placed upon her intercourse with her friends, and the male members of her household. Louis resided during this period chiefly at Versailles. One afternoon, *ennui* more than usually depressing the royal mind, his Majesty resolved to sleep at St. Maur, where he had a hunting establishment; and, on passing through Paris, to refresh his spirit by a visit to the convent of the Faubourg St. Antoine. The conversation with La Sœur Angélique lasted four hours, and embraced every possible topic. Mademoiselle de la Fayette implored the King, as usual, to be reconciled to his consort; to refrain from giving undue prominence by the honour of his exclusive notice, however innocent, to any lady of the court; and finally, she again exhorted him to restrain the arrogance of Richelieu,

and to recall the Queen-mother, and his late confessor, Caussin, from exile. Her words for the moment deeply moved the King, and he rose to depart lauding the sanctity of his monitress, and half promising to conform to her counsel. During the conference, however, a great storm of wind and snow had arisen; evening was advancing apace, and Guitaut, captain of the guard, pronounced it alike inexpedient to proceed to St. Maur, or to return to Versailles. The King, greatly provoked, declared his resolve to brave the storm, and regain Versailles; as his apartments at the Louvre were not prepared, and none of the officers of his household were in Paris. "Sire," boldly retorted Guitaut, "while the Queen resides at the Louvre, you cannot want either a supper or a lodging!"* The King replied in a vexed tone, that he would wait awhile; for that probably the weather might change. The storm, however, increased in violence, and a pouring rain set in. All chance, therefore, of a speedy change of weather vanished. Guitaut again pressed the King to take refuge in his Louvre. "The Queen sups, and retires too late for our habits; we choose, therefore, rather to claim the hospitality of M. le Cardinal," replied Louis. After some further debate and delay, the King, nevertheless, was induced to repair to the Louvre, where he arrived about ten o'clock. This decorous resolution has been ascribed to the politic counsels of Made-

* Griffet, Siri, Dreux du Radier, La Rochefoucault, Le Vassor, Motteville, Marana, Journal de Verdun, &c., &c.

moiselle de la Fayette. Anne, previously apprised of the probable visit of her lord by her zealous friend Guitaut, received the King with smiles and welcome; while Mademoiselle de Hautefort indicated approval of his presence by the warmth of her greeting. The supper was laid in Anne's cabinet, and was served by her Majesty's maids. The evening passed merrily; for the Queen put forth those enchanting graces of manner usually reserved for strangers, and for which she was renowned. The depression of the King was at length dissipated; the smiles of the Queen's syrens banished irritating reminiscences; Anne's coquettish enticements prevailed—and the King, won to temporary oblivion of his wrongs, accepted her hospitality for the night.* Louis departed on the following morning for Versailles, but invited the Queen to pay him an early visit there. Thus, it was said, was accomplished in the year 1637, through the combined influences of the elements and the politic counsels of the friends of France, that conjugal reunion, which had been broken by the indiscretions—to use no harsher term—committed by Anne of Austria during the embassy in 1626 of the Duke of Buckingham; which unhappy impressions were confirmed on the King's mind,

* Quattro hore spese il re in quel colloquio, sì che l'hora trovatasi troppo tarda per ritornare, quella notte nevosissima (correndo il mese di Dicembre), a Groisbois, convenne per forza necessità dormire a Parigi; e rimasto il letto del re a Groisbois, la regina colla cena gli fece parte del suo.—Siri. Hilarion de Coste. Eloges des Dauphins de France.

never more to be effaced, however he might dissemble, by the revelations which came to light during the trial at Nantes of the Prince de Chalais.

Madame de Chevreuse, meantime, had been received in state by Philip IV. and his queen, who sent royal coaches, drawn by six mules, and a military escort, to bring her into Madrid. Her charms and vivacity captivated the King, and Olivarez; who experienced besides malicious pleasure, in affording so vivid a welcome to a foe of Richelieu,—a lady who had foiled him with his own weapons. The Queen, Isabel of France, loved to discourse with Madame de Chevreuse on the glories of that court which she had quitted when too young to appreciate its fascinations; also, she held conferences, to modify the stiff farthingale, and other antiquated specimens of Spanish attire, so as to assimilate the toilette of her ladies, with the rich robes, and flowing hair of the duchess. Marie, notwithstanding her successes in Madrid, pined for home, and for communication with France, which so long as she resided in the Spanish capital, was closed to her. The Duc de Chevreuse feared to compromise himself by writing to his wife; while Boispille, their confidential agent, declined to answer letters sent from Spain. The Duchess, therefore, much to the regret of King Philip, quitted Madrid *

* In a Mémoire sent by the Duchess to the Cardinal through Boispille, she assures his Eminence of the discretion of her conduct while resident at the Spanish court :—" Madame de Chevreuse ne s'est obligée à rien du tout en Espagne ni en Angleterre : ne se trouvera pas qu'elle ait pris un teston fors les bonnes chères et traitements. Les dernières paroles

at the commencement of the year 1638, and journeyed to London; where she was cordially welcomed by Queen Henrietta. Madame de Chevreuse was, however, suffering from pecuniary difficulties; her gorgeous style, and munificence agreed badly with sequestrated revenues; while she possessed but two private sources likely to supply her wants. The Queen owed her a large sum of money—and there remained still to her the resource of pledging her superb jewels which she had confided to her friend, the Prince de Marsillac. Madame de Chevreuse, therefore, wrote to Anne to beseech her to repay this debt; she asked her Majesty to refund to Richelieu the 10,000 livres he had "insolently" sent her; and remit the remainder to London through the ambassador. "I have desired my messenger, Madame, to inform you of a strait which I can neither forget, nor conceal from you. The condition in which I find myself prevents me from paying this debt; while your position enables you easily to acquit it. I beseech you, therefore, to do so; and, moreover, to make known your indignation. If you could repay to me the remainder of the debt, believe that it would be a very acceptable relief to her who is absolutely yours; the which I know that you think. Believe, there-

que le roi d'Espagne lui dit furent, de faire ses recommandations en Angleterre; et que si elle allait en France qu'elle assurât la Reine sa bonne-sœur, de ses bonnes volontés. Elle a parlé comme elle devait en Espagne, et croit que c'est une des choses qui l'a le plus fait estimer par le Comte-Duc, lequel, elle croit, n'a pas rabattu de l'estime qu'il faisait de son Eminence."—Bibl. Imp. MS. Colbert.

fore, that you could not render me a more signal service." * Whether Anne found it so easy to acquit the debt, we have no record; but it does not seem that she interested herself in the many petitions addressed by the fugitive to Richelieu, for permission to return home; or to extricate her revenues from the lavish profligacies of M. de Chevreuse. Secure of the mistress, the Cardinal could now fearlessly assume a high patronising tone, and easy jocularity as he discussed the "high-flown romance" of Madame la Duchesse; and gibed at the influence which she supposed that she exercised over, "that mad enthusiast," M. de Lorraine. When M. le Duc de Chevreuse ventured to intercede, the Cardinal blandly condoled with him on the trials he had endured from the capricious frenzies of his consort; when M. le Duc de Montbazon, father of the Duchess, mediated, Richelieu, by a witty turn in the discourse poured the merriment of the bystanders like a flood, on his unlucky petitioner; who though a very great lord, yet from his simplicity, and an unfortunate habit of saying the very reverse of that which he desired to express, was the butt of the court.† To Boispille, and to the Abbé Dorat, Richelieu condescended to be more explicit. He presently intrusted to their care, for delivery to the Duchess, a declaration signed by

* Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

† One day M. de Montbazon was conversing in the presence of the queens Marie de' Medici and Anne of Austria, and let slip the words:—"Vive Dieu, je ne suis ni Italien, ni Espagnol; je suis homme de bien!"—Tallemant, t. 6.

the King, in which Louis granted his pardon for the late misdemeanours of Marie de Rohan Chevreuse, in her traitorous endeavours to induce M. de Lorraine to refuse reconciliation with France. His Majesty therein interdicted the Duchess from seeing the Queen; from corresponding with any person out of the realm; and restricted her residence to the château de Dampierre. As for *la petite promenade*, that Madame la Duchesse had thought proper to make in Spain, the King consented to draw over it the veil of his royal oblivion. When this document was presented to the Duchess, she absolutely refused the offered grace. "I will not be pardoned for a fault which I have not committed; neither will I be shut up at Dampierre: all that I promise is not to approach within five leagues of the court!" Dorat returned to Paris with this answer. Richelieu, however, was resolved, sooner or later, to wring a confession of guilt from the Duchess, as he had compelled her royal mistress to admit her misdeeds. He received Dorat's communication with ironical smiles; and commissioned him to demand from Madame de Chevreuse an avowal, at least, that she had joined Anne of Austria in an intrigue against his power, and fame. Moreover, that she had been a consenting party to the insulting term of ignominy applied to him by the ex-keeper of the seals, Châteauneuf. The spoiled, petulant beauty again returned a passionate denial; and also addressed a letter of reproach to M. le Cardinal. Richelieu

avoided sending a direct answer to the Duchess; but wrote a letter to Dorat to be shown to, and perused by her. Always gallant and piquant when addressing a beautiful lady, the apparent *bonhomie* and indulgent reprimands of the Cardinal must have been bitter to the Duchess, who beheld kings at her footstool. "The letter which I have received from Madame de Chevreuse," wrote the Cardinal, to Dorat, "is throughout a bitter upbraiding that I do not serve her as she desires, rather than a gracious appreciation of the things which I have lately done to satisfy her. The civility which is due to a lady prevents me from attempting a reply, as thereby I should be certain to displease her; but her advantage, nevertheless, induces me to address you, in order that you may represent to her certain matters in which she is much interested. She is displeased that I desire to extort from her some acknowledgment of her secret dealings with foreign princes. It is difficult to cure a sick man, who denies that he has anything amiss. Physicians, while they expect to be apprised of the ailments of their patients, conceal them from strangers. You know better than most people that, concerning Madame de Chevreuse, I have acted with the secresy of a physician, and a confessor. I do not even scruple to avow that since the affair of M. de Châteauneuf, many damning proofs of her guilt have fallen into my hands. Madame de Chevreuse cannot expect that I should shock the feelings of the King by declaring

her innocent, when his Majesty has before him proofs to the contrary. I, nevertheless, herewith send her a pardon, *pur et simple*, such as she demands. Madame de Chevreuse, however, will probably deem it strange and irksome that she is not permitted to roam all over France at her pleasure, such places excepted as may be honoured by the presence of the King, and the Queen. Before she undertook her late excursion into Spain, Tours was her residence. If since that time, she has done any thing, or deed, worthy of commendation, or of greater consideration, I confess my error in not granting her the perfect liberty which she demands. If her actions, however, have not been immaculate, she is unreasonable, and errs against the rules of sound politics in expecting an augmentation of grace, in proportion to the multiplication of her misdemeanours. Time and good conduct may bring her the realisation of all her wishes: my power is not potent enough, neither is my will so infirm as to decree a liberty prejudicial to the realm; and by its temptations, unbecoming to Madame de Chevreuse. You will, nevertheless, assure her, that in every true interest I will help her, with cordial affection; I will even bow admiringly before a mind such as hers, when not swayed by selfish passion, or by unlawful prejudice."* The Duchess, however, relieved from her most pressing pecuniary necessities, laughed at

* Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4. Le Cardinal de Richelieu à l'Abbé Dorat.—MSS. de Colbert, Bibl. Imp., t. 2, fol. 18.

the objurgations of her wary foe; danced with Queen Henrietta at Whitehall; flirted with King Charles; dispatched exquisite little caricatures of Richelieu to Madrid, for the edification of her friends; prayed publicly for Queen Marie de' Medici, and for all the unfortunate exiles driven from France; and scandalised the ambassador of King Louis—until electrified by the astonishing news that the pregnancy of Queen Anne of Austria was officially proclaimed throughout France.

The calamities of the war, and the alleged tyranny of the able minister were forgotten in the delirious joy occasioned by this event. In France no one stayed to cavil or to criticise, in the overwhelming thankfulness felt that an heir to the sceptre of Henri Quatre might be born, and the realm delivered from probable civil war on the death of Louis XIII., or from the unsteady rule of Monsieur. Processions perambulated the streets; Te Deums were chaunted in Notre Dame, and in all the principal cathedrals; alms never before so inundated the kingdom; and jubilee resounded even amid the frightful solitudes of La Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble. The countenance of Louis Treize, however, did not grow more cheerful; and though he walked in the chief processions, yet their object might have been penitential rather than jubilant, to judge by the gloom-stricken face, and careless garb of the monarch upon whom such a blessing had been bestowed. In Rome masses were celebrated for the Queen's safe delivery, and for

the birth of a male heir to Bourbon. In Madrid, a court procession to the chapel of the Virgen de Atocha, testified the participation of their Catholic Majesties in an event so important to the Infanta Queen of France. By the advice of Richelieu and of Le Père Joseph, Louis was induced to make a solemn dedication of himself and his realm to the Virgin Mary, through whose direct interposition the prayers of all France had been miraculously answered. This consecration was performed with great pomp during the month of February, 1638, in the church of Notre Dame.* Abroad, where public sentiments were not fettered by interest, respect, or by the hand of arbitrary authority, speculations the most derogatory to the majesty of the crown, and personally mortifying to the King, prevailed. Lampoons, pamphlets,† paragraphs in the public gazettes, hinted that the devotion of M. le Cardinal de Richelieu for the future prosperity of France, had comprehended, and embraced every function, and privilege of majesty. Other pamphleteers, more audacious, feigned to bewail the future calamities of Europe when a crowned son of Richelieu should wield the destiny of the nation. In Holland especially such libels abounded. In England they

* Hilarion de Coste. Eloges des Dauphins de France, p. 198. Declaration du Roi par laquelle S. M. prend pour Protectrice de ce Royaume la très sainte Vierge Marie.—Lancelot, Recueil, MS.

† One of these, Harmonie de l'amour, et de la justice de Dieu, by François Davesne, was circulated privately, and was published nevertheless in 1650. Another pamphlet written by Vergerius, a German nom de plume, was also circulated, especially in England.

fluttered for an interval, but were finally put down by the high hand of authority. The vanquished Huguenots of France ventured on a feeble lampoon in verse, which beginning with the Dukes of Orleans, and Buckingham, enumerated the alleged *égarements* of her very Christian Majesty. Most of these squibs and satires penetrated into the interior of the Louvre, and became fiery darts in the bosom of the suspicious Louis; who, persuaded that he had been before betrayed by the Queen, was only too accessible to sinister impressions. Anne herself was elated and triumphant; from being considered a personage secondary in importance almost to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, she found the state saloons of the Louvre crowded when she appeared in public; for the King had again firmly refused to annul his ordinance of the year 1626, which interdicted gentlemen from paying their respects in private to the Queen.

Louis continued to find some solace in the society of Mademoiselle de Hautefort, and in coming over military details. The smiles of the latter during the month of June were however eclipsed by the angry discussions which arose on the appointment of the household of the expected *enfant de France* Mademoiselle de Hautefort asked that her grandmother, Madame de la Flotte, should be nominated to the high office of *gouvernante* to the expected Dauphin, or Madame Royale. The Cardinal, however, had other views: the cradle even of the heir of France must not be rocked by an enemy—

Madame de la Flotte was garrulous, and swayed by her grand-daughter, who had shown herself inimical. Madame de Lansac, a near relation of Richelieu's, and daughter of M. le Marquis de Souvré, ex-preceptor to Louis XIII., was selected for the coveted honour; while Mademoiselle de Hautefort was propitiated by her own nomination as *survivante* to the office of *dame d'atours*, then filled by Madame de la Flotte. This favour conferred upon Marie de Hautefort the title of Madame, and it was a distinction which had never been before bestowed on an unmarried lady. The Queen passively submitted to the nomination of Madame de Lansac; and when the latter presented herself to tender homage, received her with great affability. Madame de Lansac had received ample instruction from the rapid pen of Richelieu how she was to conduct herself, and what she was to say on her first audience, in her new capacity, with the Queen. All Richelieu's agents moved, and spoke, and thought at his dictation; his forethought embraced every possible casualty; and even when burdened with the weight and responsibility of a war, he could prescribe the trifling etiquettes of a court audience. "Madame de Lansac is hereby informed," wrote Richelieu, "that the King has written to the Queen to inform her Majesty that he has chosen her to fill the office of governess to the child, which it may please God to give him. When her Majesty shall be pleased to send for Madame de Lansac, and shall ask the said lady whether she is

aware of the honour about to be conferred upon her? the said lady shall candidly answer—that rumour having placed her on the list of the personages eligible for the honour, and being apprised that the King had seen her name without displeasure, her reluctance to be thought importunate and presuming, had prevented her thenceforth from paying frequent court as usual to her Majesty."* Madame de Lansac was then instructed to whisper her grief, that it had been reported such nomination might be unwelcome to her Majesty. She was then directed, upon leaving the royal apartments, to visit Mesdames de Hautefort and de la Flotte, "so that nothing mischievous to Madame de Lansac may be insinuated by these persons to her Majesty." Anne of Austria played her part to perfection; declared herself perfectly satisfied with the appointment, and overwhelmed the future *gouvernante* with flattering indications of approval. Madame de Lansac, however, was not deceived by these demonstrations; she was a shrewd, self-possessed woman of a certain age, proud of being a Souvré, and the intimate friend of Madame d'Aiguillon, and devoted to the glory and to the prosperity of her kinsman, the great Cardinal. She was aware that Richelieu distrusted Madame de Senécé, and Mesdames de Hautefort and de la Flotte; and that she was placed at the Louvre to keep the Queen under *surveillance*—not indeed, rudely to

* Cousin, Appendice, Vie de Madame de Hautefort. Archives des Affaires Étrangères, t. 88, fol. 409. Mémoire pour Madame de Lansac.

interfere with Anne's pleasures, and pastimes, or to force advice upon her Majesty, but simply to keep the Cardinal *au courant* with the Queen's domestic avocations, and intimates.

King Louis, meanwhile, wandered disconsolately from St. Germain to Versailles and back again, in despair at the ireful, and unforgiving mood of Madame de Hautefort, who declined his confidences, and refused either to look at him, or to speak to him. Richelieu had taken his departure for the seat of war in Picardy; and to Amiens were the letters addressed, which described to his Eminence the "doings" at St. Germain. Le Père Carré, Chavigny, and Bullion, wrote daily, and sometimes thrice a day, alarming despatches relative to the royal despair and the obduracy of Madame de Hautefort. These despatches must have been heavy burdens on the unfortunate ministers; they are dated at all hours,—some at midnight, others were written at three o'clock in the morning. Chavigny, whose amusing pen lightens the details of many a dreary despatch, seems to enter into the ludicrous position: in various letters, all following closely, he gives the Cardinal the following scraps of information: "Monseigneur will have heard of the indisposition of the King by the letters of M. Bouvard (the royal physician in ordinary). His Majesty is a prey to incredible indecision; he is ready to fall on his knees before *sa dame*, and pray for pardon. This evening, in the circle there was little conversation. When

we were alone, the King, after a long argument on the subject of de Hautefort, of which I had the best, exclaimed, 'Lost! lost! I am impatient to see her. I love her better than all the rest of the world combined. I will kneel to ask her pardon!'" "The King, during the last two days, has been at Versailles, on account of the continuation of his quarrel with Madame de Hautefort. The said lady now declares a fresh cause of offence, inasmuch as the Duke de Montbazon was indiscreet enough to say to her in the presence of the King, 'that the reason she hated Madame de Lansac was, that the latter lady would not permit her son to marry the said de Hautefort,'—the which disobliging remark his Majesty confirmed. . . . This afternoon his Majesty wrote to your Eminence to state, that the displeasure and dissatisfaction which he experienced from de Hautefort, would compel him to send her from court. His Majesty, however, countermanded the courier; being determined to make a last effort this evening to reconcile himself with the said lady."* "The King did me the honour to assure me," writes Bullion, "of the affection and confidence which he felt towards your Eminence. His Majesty said, 'Madame de Hautefort has observed to me that M. le Cardinal and myself are great friends; nevertheless, mark my words, *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo;* for

* Archives des Affaires Étrangères, France, t. 89; Chavigny au Cardinal. All published for the first time by M. Victor Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort, Appendice.

neither M. le Cardinal, nor myself, nor my good servants, find favour at St. Germain.' I said that I was aware that efforts were made to unite the interests of the Queen and Madame de Hautefort; and that, by the mediation of a young lady whose name I could not remember. 'Ah!' said the King, 'you mean Beaumont, but she gives de Hautefort bad advice. At St. Germain they do nothing but quarrel, so much so, that I am weary, and long to be with M. le Cardinal. La Hautefort does nothing but sting Madame de Lansac. Upon the matter of the Queen's letters, de Hautefort told me to-day, that Madame de la Flotte did not now deem it a part of her duty to inform me when her Majesty writes, and to whom!' Upon which I remarked, 'that his Majesty ought to thank God for the wise counsels of your Eminence in advising the nomination of Madame de Lansac; as evidently, on the dicta of Madame de Hautefort, he cannot place confidence in the zeal of la Flotte.'"* Such were the puerile despatches which harassed Richelieu at the seat of war. His Eminence wrote three long letters of condolence to the King; he also addressed Madame de Hautefort, and represented the responsibility which she incurred by agitating the mind of the King, as yet only imperfectly recovered from fever. Perhaps the ferment frightened de Hautefort, or the entreaties of Anne of Austria were united with those of the ladies of

* Archives des Affaires Étrangères, France. Bullion au Cardinal, 23 Aoust, 1638.

her household in praying Marie to receive the King again into favour. A smile from the syren, which beamed the more brilliantly after information had been conveyed to her by Chavigny, that the King had despatched a missive to Sœur Angélique, and the reconciliation was achieved, Louis promising to Madame de la Flotte the *survivance* of the charge of lady of honour, then filled by Madame de Senécé. Richelieu indicates his joy at the restoration of concord in the following pithy sentences:—"I am enchanted to learn that harmony again subsists between your Majesty's dignity and your partiality; the latter, in my opinion, will ever be innocent and pure. I feel extreme gladness that the King now finds contentment in his innocent recreations; and I pray God, with all my heart, that such may long time endure!"*

The great event of the *accouchement* of the Queen was now approaching. On the 1st of September, 1638, the Princesses and ladies nominated to be present on the occasion, arrived at St. Germain-en-Laye. Monsieur also appeared, captious as usual; and greatly incensed that his wife had not received a special summons, that the recognition of her claims might be made on so supreme an occasion. Whilst the Duke of Lorraine her brother, was at war with his liege the King of France, Marguerite deemed it prudent not to venture within the grip of her enemy the Cardinal minister, unless specially protected by a safe-conduct,

* Archives Étrangères, France, t. 89, fol. 105, fol. 122.

which Louis had indignantly refused to grant. The Queen felt the first symptoms of labour at two o'clock on the morning of Sunday, September 5th. At four o'clock, Anne sent for her almoner the Bishop of Lisieux, and commanded a mass to be celebrated in her room, there being present only the midwife Madame Peronne, and Mademoiselle Filandre chief tire-woman, the indisposition of her Majesty being kept secret by her special command. At five o'clock, Filandre caused the King to be apprized of the approaching event.* Louis arose, and commanded the presence of all official personages; and that his medical staff should repair to the large saloon. In twenty minutes the inmates of the château were wild with excitement, and expectation. The guard was posted, and every avenue leading to the palace kept by a strong piquet of soldiers. The gentlemen of the King's Swiss guard, bearing their battle-axes and halberts, ranged themselves in the vestibule of the palace. At six o'clock, the ladies whose right it was to be present in the Queen's chamber, entered, and took their seats on chairs covered with cloth of gold. These were the Princess de Condé, the Countess de Soissons, the Duchess de Vendôme, the mistress of the robes Duchess de Montmorency, the Duchess de Bouillon, the Marquise de Lansac, Mesdames de Senécé, and de la Flotte. In a saloon adjoining, were Séguier the chancellor, Chavigny, Bullion,

* Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. 2.

Mesdames de Guémené, de la Trimouille, de Villauxclers, de Hautefort, de Liancour, and de Mortemar. The prelates were the Archbishop of Bourges, the Bishops of Lisieux,* Chalons, and Meaux.† In another lofty chamber, several hundred personages of minor condition waited the event. At nine o'clock a sensation of terror pervaded the assemblage; the Queen was reported to be in extreme peril, and a hasty message from Dame Peronne summoned the surgeons in waiting. Séguier, also, went to inform the King of this crisis, who does not appear to have paid any previous visit to his consort. Louis then entered the apartment pallid and downcast; he approached the temporary altar, and kneeling, prayed aloud that God would grant a safe, and speedy delivery to the Queen his consort. Masses were then commenced by the Bishop of Lisieux in the royal chamber; while the Bishop of Meaux recited the Divine Office in the saloon, which was fervently joined in by all present.‡

The King meantime, discoursed with Madame de Hautefort, who was weeping bitterly. At half-past ten, Madame de Senécé approached, with a message from the Queen to her royal consort. Anne sent her greeting; an assurance of her courage; and an entreaty that the King would retire to partake

* Philippe Cospean. † Dominique Séguier.

‡ De Coste. Éloges des Dauphins de France.—Godefrey, Naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin, à présent le Roy Louis XIV., p. 209, et seq.

of his accustomed collation at eleven o'clock. Louis consequently retired, after a brief conference with Bouvard. He had scarcely seated himself at table, when the sound of a great commotion was heard, and several messengers rushed unceremoniously into the royal presence, with the news that the Queen's delivery was near. Shouts of exultation greeted the King as he again approached the chamber. "C'est un Dauphin! C'est un Dauphin!" Madame de Senécé met the King at the door of the chamber, and placed in his arms the new-born babe, who gave token of vigour by shrill cries.* The company, simultaneously, gave thanks on their knees to Providence for so inestimable a gift.

The Queen, meantime, overwhelmed with the tumult and the heat, fainted away; but presently reviving, she clasped her hands, and returned thanks to God for her preservation, and for the birth of a Dauphin, who was brought to her by the Dame de Giraudière, his wet nurse. As yet, the King had never approached the couch of his consort. Anne had now given a Dauphin to France: Louis heard himself hailed as happy father, and fortunate prince! Etiquette, therefore, required that congratulations between the royal pair should be exchanged in the presence of the august personages around. "The King," relates Madame de Motteville, "was obliged

* Vallot, the royal physician in ordinary, attributed the strength and liveliness of the child to the copious doses of "quinquina et vin émétique," which he had caused the Queen to swallow.

to be urged to approach the Queen his consort, and to embrace her after her *accouchement*. The child, by the command of the King, was immediately baptized by the Bishop of Meaux, and received the name of Louis.

During the hour of his wife's greatest peril, the King stood at a window, talking to Madame de Hautefort. This discourse is reported by the author of the "Life of Madame de Hautefort," lately published for the first time by M. Cousin. The author, who describes herself as the intimate friend, and one of the last earthly companions of Marie de Hautefort, vouches for the perfect accuracy of her narrative. A passage so strange and painful requires almost the confirmation of more than one narrator: nevertheless, the conduct of the King throughout the hours preceding the birth of Louis XIV., and the indifference he afterwards manifested towards the Queen, gave an aspect of truth to the statement, which must prevent it from being altogether rejected as apocryphal. "The King, seeing Madame de Hautefort standing near a window, approached her. Perceiving that she was weeping, the King, in a whisper, bade her not afflict herself so greatly, as she had no reason to do so. Madame de Hautefort, surprised to hear such a speech at a moment so critical, replied angrily, 'that she wondered at the unfeeling observation of his Majesty, considering the dangerous condition of the Queen.' The King, with a cheerful manner, said, 'I shall be pleased enough if they save

the child—it is quite enough. You, Madame, I think, would find no reason to regret the loss of the mother!' Madame de Hautefort, thereupon, cast down her eyes, and showed plainly to the King that she had no pleasure in such discourse. The Queen passed a bad night. His Majesty also never slept, nor retired to bed; but occupied himself with La Chesnaie, one of his principal valets de chambre, in examining a History of France, to find a precedent for the marriage of a King of France with a subject."

At mid-day, September 5th, Louis proceeded in state to the chapel of the castle, escorted by a hundred gentlemen-at-arms, to be present at the Te Deum chanted for the auspicious birth of a Dauphin. Pontifical mass was next celebrated, during which Louis made rich offerings. The King then returned to the Queen's chamber, to be present while M. le Dauphin was escorted in the arms of his nurse to his own apartments, which were hung with white silk damask, and where he was received by his *gouvernante*, Madame la Marquise de Lansac. Louis then held a council, at which missives were written and despatched to the potentates of Europe, and to the municipal authorities of the realm. In Paris the news was already known; the cannon of the Bastille, and of the Arsenal thundered through the streets; and the bells of Notre Dame and of the Sainte-Chapelle rang merry carrillons. On the quay, in front of the Hôtel de Ville, tables were spread,

at which, for three days, every comer was welcome to drain a goblet, or to eat a morsel in honour of M. le Dauphin. At night the capital was a blaze of illuminations, such as had never before been witnessed; fireworks of wonderful conceits, and brilliancy, being also displayed. The façades of the Louvre, the Tuileries, the Palais Cardinal, the Hôtel d'Aiguillon, the Spanish and English Embassies, shone with resplendent light. The festivities lasted for several days, with undiminished splendour; never before had the birth of an heir-apparent been celebrated with rejoicings so magnificent. In the provinces the pageants almost surpassed in splendour and variety those of the capital. The great religious houses of the realm proclaimed largesse, and gave bounteous alms and prayers. "*Vive le Prince Dauphin, l'attente de la France!*" was the greeting often heard to be exchanged between individuals in the first fervour of their enthusiasm.*

The Cardinal de Richelieu, meantime, was at St. Quentin, directing the progress of the campaign in Picardy, but more especially the operations of the siege of St. Omer, which, under the Marshal de Châtillon, were not attended with desirable success. "The great Armand, Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, was at St. Quentin when he received the very happy, and very agreeable news of the birth of a Dauphin,

* Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. ii. p. 209, et seq.—Naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin, à présent le Roy Louis XIV.

by several couriers despatched by their Majesties," relates Hilarion de Coste. "His Eminence immediately repaired to the large church to chant the Canticle of Thanksgiving, and to give in person benediction to the people, who flocked in numbers to the service. There were present Charles de Valois, Duc d'Angoulême, and all the lords in the army of Picardy, M. de Noyers, M. de Choisy, and many other privy councillors. His Eminence ordered a brilliant display of fireworks, and a salute of all the artillery in the place." Richelieu, on the following day, entertained the officers at a superb banquet; and commanded the poor in St. Quentin, and Amiens to be entertained at his expense. His letter of congratulation to King Louis was terse, but expressive: "Sire,—The birth of Monsieur le Dauphin has ravished me with joy. I pray that, as he is Theodosius, the gift which God has given you, so may he be, by possession of the great and heroic qualities which adorned the Emperors of that name. I earnestly pray that God may overwhelm your Majesty with benedictions as many and fervent as he prays, who is for ever your Majesty's devoted subject and servant." * To the Queen, Richelieu wrote:—"Madame,—Great joy is not loquacious; therefore I know not how to express to your Majesty that which I feel for her happy *accouchement*, and for the birth of Monseigneur le Dauphin. I believe and trust that God has given him to

* Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, t. v.

Christendom to appease and to allay troubles; and to confer upon us the benediction of peace. I vow to Monseigneur from his birth, and henceforth, the devotion and zeal which has always inspired me to serve the King, and your Majesty. I am, your Majesty's eternal and devoted subject, —The Cardinal Duc de Richelieu." *

The recovery of the Queen was rapid; and on the 26th of September the ceremony of "churching" was performed in Anne's audience chamber, by the Bishop of Lisieux, and other prelates. The King had already quitted St. Germain, to solace himself with the pleasures of the chase at Chantilly. Anne, now a proud and happy mother, sat under her canopy of state, Madame de Lansac standing on her right, holding the young Prince. While the prayers of the Offertory were being recited, the Queen arose, and taking the babe in her arms, traversed alone the vast apartment, and kneeling at the altar, "made an oblation of herself, and her new-born son to the King of Kings, and afterwards devoutly received the Holy Eucharist." The Abbot of St. Denis and the Bishop of Brieux held the stole over the head of M. le Dauphin during the ceremonies at the altar. When the Bishop of Lisieux began to read the Gospel, the royal child fixed his eyes earnestly on the prelate. It was considered, likewise, as remarkable, that in reciting certain words of the Gospel, when the Bishop took the hand of the little

* Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, t. v.

Prince, he squeezed the prelate's finger with wonderful strength and vigour.* On the 27th of September Richelieu arrived in Paris; and on Wednesday, the 29th, he repaired to St. Germain, to visit the Queen and her son. Louis met the Cardinal at St. Germain, and conducted him to the presence of her Majesty. "It would be impossible," writes a famous chronicler, "to describe the transports of his Eminence, and with what joy he was possessed, on beholding that admirable child in the arms of his mother,—a babe which had been the object of his ardent aspirations, and whose birth fulfilled his fondest desires. His said Eminence then took leave, and departed for Ruel."†

As soon as Anne was able to go abroad, the King, Queen, and court walked in procession from the Louvre, to Notre Dame. The shrines of St. Landry, St. Denis, St. Eleutherius, and St. Geneviève, were carried in the procession, which consisted of the court, the ecclesiastics, and monks and nuns of the capital, the trade guilds, and the municipality of Paris. The glorious strains of Te Deum Laudamus echoed along the vaulted aisles of the grand old cathedral, while the people on the line of procession rapturously cheered the royal pair. Cardinal de Richelieu and the papal nuncio *in pontificalibus*,

* Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. ii.

† Ibid. The Queen likewise received warm congratulations from the Cardinal de la Valette, and writes to thank him, "et lui témoigner combien elle avait eu agréable la part qu'il prenoit à ses contentements." —MS. Bibl. Imp., F. Dupuy, 569, fol. 37.

received their Majesties at the porch of the church, and preceded them to their chairs of state. The congratulations of his Holiness being especially cordial, Louis wrote thus to the Pope on the birth of his son :—

LOUIS XIII. TO POPE URBAN VIII.

"Very Holy Father, — As it has pleased Almighty God always to give us grace to overcome tribulations contrary to the peace of our realm, we ever maintained a good hope that He would at length confer upon our royal consort and ourself, the one remaining blessing so ardently desired by our subjects. God has at length granted us a son, which the Queen has brought forth safely. As this child has been given to us many years after our marriage, we regard his birth as a special benediction from God, bestowed upon us and upon the Queen; and whilst we return thanks, and while our subjects throng the churches for the same object, we have thought good thus to address your Holiness.

"Your devoted son,

"Louis." *

The Pope deputed Cardinal Sforza to proceed to France on a special mission of congratulation; and to present to the royal child the splendid robes, cradle, linen, cushions and hangings, blessed by the pontifical hand—the customary offering made by the Popes,

* MS. Bibl. Imp., Dupuy, 549.

on the birth of the heir of the Eldest Son of the Church.*

When rejoicing ceased for the birth of M. le Dauphin, and excitement was allayed, people fell again into their old train of speculation. Monsieur quitted St. Germain, declaring himself highly dissatisfied and highly perplexed; while his adherents openly counselled him to take up arms to proclaim the illegitimacy of the so-called Dauphin, and to assert his own rights. In Paris itself, a pamphlet of the most scandalous, and odious nature † appeared, which was eagerly circulated. A story was likewise whispered, proceeding, it was rumoured, from the high authority of a very virtuous lady of the palace, that the Queen had given birth to twin sons; the last born of whom, had immediately, and mysteriously disappeared. The friends of Monsieur, asserted that Chavigny, the Cardinal's second self, had remained during the Queen's labour, against all precedent, in the antechamber of her oratory, which opened close to the *ruelle* of the royal bed; that much mystery had been observed, and that the King had not been present when the child, called "the Dauphin," was born,—all of which were

* Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France.

† D'un Cas Extraordinaire, etc., etc., Paris 1638. A suggestion was made by this author, relative to the favour bestowed by the Queen on Mazarin. At this early period of Mazarin's French career, he is certainly unjustly reflected upon. Mazarin was created by the Pope, Legate of Avignon, in 1635. In the year 1636, he paid a brief visit to Paris, and returned to Avignon. In October of the year 1637, he was recalled to Rome by the Pope, where he remained until the year 1639.

allegations proved to be true. Other writings were published, alleging, that for certain reasons, well known to many, the so-called Dauphin could not be the son of Louis XIII.* No confirmation of these suspicions, however, could be extracted from the placid mien of the Cardinal, or from the extreme veneration which he displayed towards the royal babe; nevertheless, it was deemed strange that his Eminence should have been absent at St. Quentin at a moment so important to the realm as the birth of the future king. The antecedent history of the Queen unfortunately gave probability to these suspicions. The events of the year 1637, though arising altogether from her own indiscretions, were perilous, and the danger greater than she had ever previously incurred. The King was ready to visit her offences with the utmost possible retribution; being no longer deterred by the fear of a declaration of war from Spain, as hostilities with that realm were then absolutely pending. The dreadful indispositions which, every six months, menaced the life of Louis XIII., made Richelieu dread a speedy fall from power; the confiscation of his vast wealth; and probable exile from the realm. It was said, and with what truth may never now be known, that Anne and her old enemy Riche-

* The royal physician, Valot, expresses himself thus, in a curious MS. of the Bibl. Impériale, brought to light by M. Paulin Paris. He says: —"Que la France avait presque perdu toutes les assurances d'une heureuse succession; car le Roi commençait à se ressentir d'une faiblesse singulière causée avant âge par ses longues fatigues: et l'opiniâtreté d'une longue maladie l'avait réduit en état de ne pouvoir espérer une longue vie, ni une plus parfaite guérison," etc.

lieu, apprehending persecution and degradation on the accession of the Duke of Orleans, combined, in order to maintain their power and influence; that the mind of the Queen was hard and determined; and that her detestation of Louis XIII. was such that no crime against him would deter her from following her own interests. The silence of Marie de' Medici was also looked upon as ominous; for the Queen-mother, it was averred, would, on so joyful an occasion, have given some signal mark of sympathy with the nation. King Louis XIII., nevertheless, did not disown his Dauphin, nor display any doubt respecting his legitimate birth. It might be, that he shrank from a contest with the Queen, supported by the power of the Spanish monarchy, by Richelieu, and by the wishes and wants of the nation.

In after times, when, in the days of the Fronde, Paris rose against the Regent and her minister Mazarin, the conduct of Queen Anne had been such, that many who had previously disbelieved the rumours connected with the birth of Louis XIV. avowed their conviction that such surmises probably had not arisen without foundation.

As soon as the Queen removed to the Louvre a fresh surprise awaited the public by the dismissal of all her chief ladies—a measure which did not tend to allay the impertinent conjectures current. Madame de Senécé had never become cordially reconciled to Richelieu after the profession of her niece la Fayette; she, moreover, dared to speak and act

independently of the minister. The Marquise was a lady of the highest rank; and possibly Richelieu deemed it indispensable to appoint to so confidential a post, a personage of less exalted birth, and devoted to his will. Whether the Queen privately gave her assent to this measure does not appear—probably she did; outwardly, however, she evinced dissatisfaction and even sorrow, and made angry comments when the dismissal of her old friend was notified to her by the following brief note brought by Chavigny, written and signed by the King.

"To the Queen.

"These three words are to inform you that I have resolved, for certain considerations, as important to you as to myself, to dismiss Madame de Senécé, as the Sieur de Chavigny will more amply explain, and in whose words you will place confidence."*

As the Queen was accustomed to receive such communications in a mutinous spirit, which she could not at once discard, Richelieu drew up a summary of the replies advisable for the King to adopt, in answer to his consort's expected expostulations. "When her Majesty shall arrive at St. Germain, his Majesty may, if he so pleases, greet her with the words:—'I made known to your Majesty that when Madame de Senécé shall have obeyed me, I

* Archives des Affaires Etrangères, t. 88.—Cousin.

will listen willingly to anything you may have to allege on her behalf. If she has really departed from Paris, on her way home, you may speak; but, Madame, before argument, I insist upon obedience.' Then if the Queen persists in pursuing the discourse, it will be advisable for your Majesty to add :—'You are aware of the many impertinences of which Madame de Senécé has been guilty : I have seen you smile at them a hundred times. You may say that people are not dismissed because they sometimes make impudent speeches. I answer that I have not banished Madame de Senécé for this cause only. You also know the kind of spirit which she harbours towards him, who has the conduct of my affairs. Upon this subject you probably know more than myself; but I also know facts which are concealed from you. I know the persons whom she employs to anger me when I am out of temper. I have knowledge of the warnings, which she has given against all truth, to certain persons, that I intended to arrest them. There are many other matters; and I appeal to you, Madame, whether I should be well advised to keep such a person at my court?'" *

Such was the objurgation which Richelieu prepared and forwarded to his royal master. The helplessness of Louis XIII. is pitiable. Whether Louis used the words thus put into his mouth is doubtful; for the Queen took the resignation of Madame de Senécé

* Archives des Affaires Etrangères, t. 89.—Cousin, Appendice Vie de Madame Hautefort.

with marvellous tranquillity, appearing occupied solely with M. le Dauphin, whom she drove out daily in her coach.*

The Countess de Brassac received the office vacated by Madame de Senécé : she was a Ste.-Maure,† and aunt of the Marquis de Montausier. Her husband had once professed the Huguenot faith, and had served the cause, as governor of St. Jean d'Angely ; but, like many other officers, on the fall of La Rochelle, he had conformed to the orthodox faith, and through the patronage of Père Joseph, received the splendid reward of the government of the provinces of Saintonge and Angoumois. "Madame de Brassac," says Tallemant, "was a very gentle and modest person, who understood Latin, and amused herself with theology and mathematics. She is said to have understood Euclid. Her chief delight was dreamy meditation. When she was appointed as lady of honour, she told the Cardinal that she preferred a retired life, and that it would be easy for him to find another lady whom the office would better suit ; moreover, that she could not pretend to offer him the services with the Queen, that his Eminence had a right to expect. Nevertheless she behaved so well that she pleased both the Queen and the Cardinal,

* "La Reine n'abandonne guère le petit prince, qui est gros et fort. Elle prend grand plaisir à le faire jouer, et à le mener promener dans son carrosse quand il fait beau ; c'est tout son divertissement, aussi n'y en a-t-il point d'autres dans la cour."—Mademoiselle Andrieu, Femme-de-chambre de la Reine, à Madame de Senécé.

† Catherine de Ste.-Maure.

although the Gospel tells us that we cannot serve two masters. The Queen praised her to everybody, which is not faint eulogy." M. de Brassac received at the same time the office of steward of the Queen's household, in the room of M. Sanguin. The Bishop of Limoges was dismissed from his office of almoner to the Queen, which was bestowed on the Bishop of Lisieux. Many of the Queen's maids, Mesdemoiselles de Beaumont, d'Aiches, and de Polignac, were dismissed; other ladies were also doomed by the Cardinal, amongst whom were Madame de Hautefort and her grandmother, Madame de la Flotte—for to rid the court of these personages Richelieu now discovered a way.

At this period, the beginning of the year 1639, the Cardinal stood high in the good graces of their Majesties. The cabal of the Queen, and her late *confidentes*, looked on with amazement at the *entente* evidently ratified between their royal mistress, and her late enemy. "The Queen receives M. le Cardinal with every demonstration of *bienveillant* friendship." Another writer, in a letter to the exiled Bishop of Limoges, relates: "The loves of the King do not go better than usual. On the contrary, from bad to worse, as it seems. It is rumoured that we shall soon see further changes." The secret of the discord alluded to between Madame de Hautefort and the King was, that after their former quarrel, Louis had promised Madame de la Flotte, *dame d'atours*, the place of lady of honour whenever such

became vacant by the resignation of the Marquise de Senécé. The office having fallen at the disposal of the crown, Marie de Hautefort insisted that Madame de la Flotte should be installed in the coveted post; which would have given Mademoiselle de Hautefort increased rank at court, as she had been gratified with the *survivance* of her grandmother's office, and would therefore succeed her as *dame d'atours*. Louis returned a positive refusal, and stormy interviews were succeeded by intervals of sullen alienation. Richelieu had long sought to discover an antidote to the ill-humours of de Hautefort; which increased the morbid despondency of the King to a degree often unpleasantly manifested during the transaction of business of state. Not one of the ladies, her companions in office, was capable of performing the *rôle* of la Fayette. Mademoiselle de Chemérault, who alone seemed to attract any portion of the royal notice, was silly and frivolous; and quite incapable of sustaining that solid and sentimental discourse in which the King professed to delight. Amongst the pages of honour in the service of Richelieu, was Henri Cinq-Mars d'Effiat, youngest son of the Marshal d'Effiat, a beautiful and brilliant youth of eighteen, an adept in all the arts and pastimes of courts. The early boyhood of Cinq-Mars had been spent in the solitudes of his father's wild domain in Auvergne. Left to his own devices, and without companions of his own age or rank, Cinq-Mars had become a proficient in

the sports and out-door pastimes in which boys of his age delighted. He was an expert snarer of birds; a good horseman; he could fish, wrestle, run, and loved the wild life of the woods, through which he used to roam with ever-increasing delight. At the age of fifteen, the Marshal * sent for his son, and enrolled him as page in waiting to the Cardinal, who was a kinsman of d'Effiat. Cinq-Mars quitted Auvergne in despair; but once installed at the Palais Cardinal, his good looks, quickness, and natural grace attracted the notice of Richelieu. The boy was at once, by his command, placed under suitable masters, all of whom he enchanted by his good-humour and merry spirit. Soon Cinq-Mars became the accomplished cavalier and grand gentleman; and indulged to the bent of his desires by the Cardinal presently assumed the airs of the most finical *petit-maître*. "This young cavalier," writes a contemporary, "by the charm of his discourse, and by the grace of his manners, gained all hearts. Nature had lavished upon him choice gifts." Unfortunately there was no basis of education and moral culture to support these brilliant, but superficial gifts. Cinq-Mars was vain, capricious, irritable, self-indulgent; and, seeing himself the idol of the Cardinal's household, conceived so high a notion of his own importance, as greatly to amuse, but yet perplex his patron. Richelieu, nevertheless, resolved to intro-

* Antoine Coiffier, Marquis d'Effiat, born 1581, died 1632; Grand Master of Artillery, and a Secretary of the Treasury.

duce Cinq-Mars to the King; and moreover, to recommend him to Louis as a suitable and amusing companion for his leisure hours. He therefore gave him the office of master of the wardrobe, and recommending prudence, submission, and good-humour, installed Cinq-Mars in the royal household. Louis at first disdained Cinq-Mars, whose levity had been represented to him by some personage of the court, who was probably jealous of the favourite page of M. le Cardinal. Among his other gifts, Cinq-Mars possessed a melodious voice; and the King overhearing him one day singing some melancholy cadence from one of the royal compositions, immediately took him into favour. The early pursuits of Cinq-Mars then greatly aided his rise to favour. He talked to the King of piscatory exploits: taught his Majesty a new way to snare magpies; advised the King on the management of his kennels at St.-Maur, and Fontainebleau; and whittled away with Louis on the wooden toys which his Majesty manufactured during his hours of recreation. After the lapse of a few months, therefore, the influence of Cinq-Mars was in the ascendant, and that of Marie de Hautefort on the decline.

Meantime, through Mademoiselle de Chemérault, who was now sold to do his bidding, Richelieu kept vigilant watch over the household at St. Germain. In this correspondence the personages of the court have each a *nom de plume:* for

instance, the King and Queen have the *sobriquet* of Céphale and Procris; Madame de Hautefort is Aurore; Madame de Lansac, La Baleine; Madame de la Flotte, La Vieille. The disorders and the perpetual dissensions meantime, arrived at such a pitch that the Cardinal found it expedient to strike. He, therefore, humbly represented that a further clearance of the *intrigantes* of the court was requisite, unless his Majesty chose to release him from the burden of affairs. Louis abruptly asked if there was not an antidote without proceeding to such extremity? Richelieu replied by cunningly demanding the exile of Madame de Hautefort, for a fortnight only, "to prove to unprincipled agitators that the said lady was not the most powerful person in the realm." The King, who had quarrelled with de Hautefort on account of some sarcasms which she had uttered concerning Cinq-Mars and his airs, consented to the proposition; and desired his minister to see that his will was notified. The day previously Louis had returned from a hasty visit to Amiens, and on seeing de Hautefort in the circle, he angrily accosted her in these words:—"Madame, I understand that you have been slandering Cinq-Mars; take care in future of your words—take heed, I again repeat, or I shall know how to punish with due severity!"

As soon as the consent of Louis had been extorted, Richelieu despatched Chavigny to signify

to Madame de Hautefort the order for her departure on the morrow, without farewell audience of the King. He also recommended that Madame de la Flotte, and Mademoiselle de Chemérault should likewise retire for a season. In one of their most confidential interviews, however, Louis had adjured, and commanded Madame de Hautefort on no account to quit the court without obtaining an interview with him, in defiance even of his own assumed command. She, therefore, determined to brave the wrath of the Cardinal, and not to leave Paris without an audience. Indignation and pique at treatment so unceremonious, agitated Marie de Hautefort; and she flew to the Queen's chamber to impart the news. Anne wept, and sobbed aloud as she clasped her friend in her arms. The Queen, however, declined to interfere; but suggested that probably the report of her approaching marriage with M. le Comte de Gesvres had angered the King, and which a few words would explain. The homage of the brave young Count de Gesvres, captain of the King's guards, had been complacently received by Madame de Hautefort, who, weary of cabals, naturally inclined towards so advantageous an alliance. The *cancans* of the court reached the King's ear during his visit to the camp. Inflamed with wrathful jealousy, Louis sent an exempt of the royal guard to M. de Tresmes, father of de Gesvres, to express his indignation that the latter had presumed to seek the hand of la Dame de

Hautefort, *domestique de la Reyne*, without his royal permission; but, as such indecorum had been committed, the King commanded M. de Gesvres to espouse the said lady before the approaching season of Lent. If the said de Gesvres declined to do so, the Count de Tresmes, under peril of the royal displeasure, was to seek out another bride for his son before the above-mentioned period. The displeasure of Louis XIII. was no passing cloud; both de Gesvres and his father disavowed the intention,—the former thanking his Majesty for the gracious permission he had given him to seek the hand of Madame de Hautefort in marriage. Returning to St. Germain, after this piece of tyranny, the King, embittered by his past annoyance, addressed the severe reproof to Marie concerning Cinq-Mars. Richelieu knew how to time his opportunities, and probably insinuated that a temporary exile would render de Hautefort more submissive and careful for the future.*

Madame de Hautefort, early the following morning, presented herself at the door of the royal apartment to see the King, before he proceeded to hear mass. The halberts of the sentinels were instantly crossed to bar her ingress into the apartment; while the officer in the guard-chamber explained "that the King had given orders to deny admittance to Madame de Hautefort." Pale with anger, Marie, refraining from useless clamour,

* Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

descended to the guard-chamber, through which the King had necessarily to pass on leaving the chapel. As she waited there, perhaps, bitter thoughts crossed the mind of Marie de Hautefort of another adventure, when, in a still more gloomy chamber, she had borne the jibes and curious glances of the soldiers, on behalf of a royal mistress, who now declined to make one single effort on her behalf. After a short interval the door opened, and Louis leisurely entered, attended by Cinq-Mars, and followed at a little distance by a troop of courtiers. He started when he beheld Madame de Hautefort, and retreated a step in confusion. Marie approached with dignity: "Sire," said she, "relying on your royal word, I have not believed, or obeyed the order, which I have received in your name, to leave the court; neither, after your protestations, can I believe it unless I receive the command from your own lips!" Louis confusedly replied, "that he had given such command, and avowed it; and that her exile was to extend over only fifteen days, to which he had assented with extreme regret, for certain important reasons of state!" "Sire, the fifteen days will extend to the end of your Majesty's life! Therefore I bid you eternal farewell!" Louis made no reply, but hurriedly passed on.*

Madame de Hautefort, perceiving that appeal would be useless, and irritated by a low, and mocking obeisance from M. de Cinq-Mars, as he passed

* Ibid. Dreux du Radier, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

her, retired, and prepared for immediate departure. Her last interview with the Queen added to her discomposure. Anne, though she took from her own ears a pair of superb diamond ear-rings, and gave them to de Hautefort, yet manifested a calmness and indifference most mortifying. When informed that Mademoiselle de Chemérault had likewise been dismissed, Anne declined to make her a parting-gift; or to give her a written testimonial of satisfaction at her services. De Chemérault, whom Madame de Hautefort considered her bosom friend, had, since the affair of the Val de Grâce, been the spy of the Cardinal, and had not only betrayed her friend, but the Queen also, in various little trifles which came under her observation. Probably Anne knew more on this subject than she chose to avow. Madame de Hautefort, nevertheless, indignant at her dismissal, and at the indifference manifested by their Majesties, addressed a letter of reproach to the Queen before she quitted the Louvre. "Madame," wrote de Hautefort in the first glow of her wrath,* "if I might be permitted to judge your Majesty's sentiments by my own, I should never dare to say to you adieu for ever, dreading lest that cruel word might endanger your life, as it does my own, even while I write it. But as God has conferred upon you the gift of resignation, such as you have shown in many other emergencies, I should wrong Providence, and your own constancy, if I presumed to

* Vie Inédite de Madame de Hautefort.—Cousin.

fancy that my disgrace and misfortune could disturb either your health or your repose. It is, therefore, for ever, Madame, that I say to you this word, Adieu! I beg your Majesty to believe, that in whatever part of the world fortune may lead me, I shall persevere in that fidelity and attachment to you which is the true cause of my persecution; regretting only, not to be able to suffer more evils for the love of you."

Madame de Hautefort proceeds to rate the Queen in the same sarcastic strain for her illiberality to Mademoiselle de Chemérault, who had been dismissed without gratuity, with the payment only of her salary of 4000 crowns, "and in the same summary manner, Madame, that you would discharge Michelette! * Madame, if a great Queen, like yourself, has not money in hand to reward, and help a girl whom she has professed to love, at least a present might be vouchsafed, a pension promised, or a letter written to prove to the girl's mother that your Majesty feels satisfied with her past services. Although I have heard with intense mortification the dread which you now manifest to displease him,† who tears me from you, I protest, Madame, that your timidities and concessions, grieve and pique me more for your own sake than for my own, as I might find consolation for my own

* Anne de Pluviers de St. Michel, fille-demoiselle de la chambre. This Mademoiselle de St. Michel appears likewise to have been one of the caballers of the household.

† The Cardinal de Richelieu.

wrongs, if I could be certain that this injury is the last that you will receive from his hands."

Generous, warm-hearted, and imprudent, Madame de Hautefort left many friends at court; and the renown of a spotless reputation. She was attended from Paris to Mans by M. de Villers, an intimate friend of her family; and followed by the Marquis de Noirmoutier, who had long been madly enamoured of her; and who hoped to receive in her adversity that encouragement for his honourable proposals, which Madame de Hautefort had before denied him when at court.*

* Mademoiselle de Hautefort retired, in the first instance, from the Louvre to the Convent des Dix Vertus ou Madelonettes, where she remained some six weeks as a boarder. On the 27th of December, 1639, she quitted Paris, "résolue comme un capitaine," as le P. Carré reported to Richelieu.

CHAPTER III.

1639—1642.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND THE MARQUIS DE CINQ-MARS.

The agents of Richelieu kept all the banished ladies under surveillance. Madame de Fargis had sought refuge from persecution in Holland, where she lived in extreme penury, avenging herself for her sufferings by surpassing even Dutch pamphleteers, in animosity. Madame de Chevreuse continued to toy with the great Cardinal; and to carry on a correspondence, half-friendly, half-menacing. Richelieu demanded unreserved confession of past misdemeanours, unreserved submission, and unreserved confidence in his good will. Madame de Chevreuse, almost broken-hearted at her prolonged exile, complied at length, so far as to consent to sign a document, in which "she deplored her past bad conduct; and promised to pay no more clandestine visits to Paris." † Richelieu thereupon, sent an agent to London, with a large

* "On soupçonnoit à la Cour de France que Chevreuse vint à Londres pour proposer un mariage entre le Prince d'Espagne, et la fille aînée du Roi de la Grande Bretagne."—Bibl. Imp. MS. de Colbert, t. 2, published by M. Cousin.—Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

sum of money, sufficient to acquit the debts of the duchess, and a very friendly letter, exhorting her to return immediately to Paris. The day was fixed for the Duchess to present herself at Whitehall, to say farewell to their Britannic Majesties; the coach which was to convey her to Dover was ordered, and every preparation made, when she received the following anonymous letter, of sufficiently alarming import:—"If you love Madame de Chevreuse, save her from the ruin, which is sure to overtake her in France. This warning is not a mere supposition. The advice I give must be followed, if Madame de Chevreuse wishes for security: M. le Cardinal has said too much evil respecting her, and her traffickings with Lorraine and Spain, to grant oblivion. There is no resource for Madame de Chevreuse but patience for the present; or perdition, attended with the keen regrets of the writer." Neither date, nor any other indication betrayed the author of this note. Madame de Chevreuse suspected that the writer was Queen Anne; but carefully suppressed her suspicions. A few hours subsequently, the Duke of Lorraine, who was the devoted friend of the duchess, wrote thus in dismay, to protest against the rashness of her unconditional return to France:—"Madame,—I am advised that it is the design of M. le Cardinal de Richelieu to offer to you every imaginable concession, to persuade you to return; but afterwards he means to cause you to perish

miserably." * The enmity of Richelieu was, doubtless, greatly exaggerated. The probabilities are, that if Madame de Chevreuse had returned, she would not have been permitted to reside in Paris; as the dislike manifested by the King, for the partner of his consort's past transgressions, and the newborn prudence of the Queen, must have rendered unavailing any counter-entreaty preferred by the duchess. M. de Lorraine, at the period when he thus addressed Madame de Chevreuse, was actuated by intense indignation at the protection accorded by King Louis to his forsaken wife Nicole; whom, though the true heiress of Lorraine, he had abandoned for the beautiful Beatrice de Cusance, Princesse de Cantecroix. Madame de Chevreuse, nevertheless, declined to continue her journey; she showed the warning letters to Boispille; and instructed him to take copies, which he was to lay on his return, before M. le Cardinal. The duchess, moreover, honourably returned the money sent by Richelieu; and, professing intense desire to receive an explanation from his Eminence relative to the mysterious letters addressed to her, she prepared to wait events in Brussels. Another and more ominous signal of danger the duchess descried in the coldness of Anne of Austria; and in the Queen's marked change of opinion relative to the expediency of the return of her friend, which until recently she had urged, and discussed as perfectly

* Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

feasible. Seeing the Duc de Chevreuse one day, at St. Germain, Anne inquired after the health of the duchess his wife. The Duke, who was not overburdened with wit, after satisfying her Majesty, pathetically deplored the exile of his dear consort, adding, "that her Majesty was responsible for her absence, which she might now terminate at pleasure." The Queen, in her most icy manner, replied, "that M. le Duc was unjust to attribute the absence of Madame de Chevreuse to want of zeal on her behalf; that she still loved the duchess, and would be glad to see her; nevertheless, she counselled her never to return to France!" The result was duly transmitted to the duchess, who wisely thereupon resolved to follow the counsel. Much correspondence ensued, and which is still extant, between Madame de Chevreuse and Richelieu; but the gist of all the letters written by the duchess merged in the remark with which she terminates one of the last of the series—*En attendant il vaut mieux souffrir que de périr.*"

Madame de Hautefort led a tranquil, though unexciting, life at the château de la Flotte, where she was joined by her mother. No further communication seems to have passed between de Hautefort, and the King. Anne's faithful servant La Porte often partook of the patronage and hospitality of the château de la Flotte. Madame de Hautefort also made the acquaintance of Scarron,*

* Paul Scarron, born 1610, the first husband of Madame de Main-

during her exile in the neighbourhood of le Mans; and her favour and countenance, in happier times, first introduced the merry poet-buffoon to the *salons* of the capital. Madame de Senécé lived in a style of feudal splendour in her grand old ancestral castle of Randan, maintaining always a close correspondence with the court, in which, like Richelieu, she had her swarm of venal spies and adherents.

The King, meantime, did not find all the satisfaction which he had anticipated in the society of his new favourite Cinq-Mars. The last new habit, or the last sally of boyish passion of M. de Cinq-Mars, sufficed to convulse the court. Elated by his extraordinary favour, the head of this young cavalier was fairly turned; his will was law. He entered the royal apartments at pleasure; contradicted the King publicly; emptied the royal purse; and assumed privileges which bewildered the nobles of the *grande entrée*. The first gift of the infatuated Louis was a large pecuniary benefaction, given after the capture of Hesdin. In the space of a few months the Duc de Bellegarde resigned the office of Grand Écuyer, in consideration of an indemnity of 100,000 francs, which

tenon. Madame de Hautefort, on her return to the court, presented the poet to the Regent Anne. "Madame, permettez que je sois votre malade, en titre d'office," exclaimed Scarron, facetiously. Scarron was already crippled and deformed from an immersion of many hours in the river Sarthe, to escape the consequences of a youthful frolic, in which he had incurred the indignation of his townsmen.

Louis immediately bestowed on his young favourite.* Cinq-Mars and his royal master bickered and disputed like schoolboys; often their quarrel ended by a written treaty, gravely signed by Louis and his *protégé*, and witnessed by the gentleman in waiting. The King kept a diary, in which he regularly entered the details of these ignoble quarrels, which at the end of a certain period his Majesty forwarded to Richelieu for his perusal. Soon the *lever* of "the young adventurer" was crowded by veterans, courtiers, and by ministers, anxious for his good word, and support in the royal closet. These *devoirs* were pleasant to render. Cinq-Mars had a sunny smile, and a voice most courteously toned for all; he was merry and communicative, liberal with the royal purse, and showed infinite relish for a good story, or for a morsel of well-flavoured scandal. His handsome face and good figure recommended him to the fair ladies of the court; some of whom rapturously lauded in verse his auburn curls, daintily perfumed with musk, and ambergris. Of the Cardinal, Cinq-Mars stood in wholesome awe; but yet a sensation of exulting triumph reigned, when he perceived that even the great

* Vie de M. de Cinq-Mars, Grand Écuyer de France. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII. Tallemant des Réaux. "Nous avons un favori à la cour, qui est M. de Cinq-Mars, fils de feu M. le Maréchal d'Effiat, dépendant tout-à-fait de Monseigneur le Cardinal. Jamais le roi n'a eu passion plus violente pour personne que pour lui. Sa Majesté récompense la charge de Grand Écuyer qu'a M. de Bellegarde, pour la lui donner. Ce n'est pas un trop vilain début pour un homme de dix-neuf ans."—Lettre de M. de Chavigny à M. de Mazarin.

minister, his former patron, approached him with caution, as if he also was dazzled with the greatness of his rise. So long as Cinq-Mars aspired only to lead the fashions of the court, and to amuse the King's solitary hours, Richelieu permitted him to revel in his self-sufficient pride. Cinq-Mars paid profound respect to Anne of Austria, who now lived in almost utter seclusion at St. Germain, absorbed by her young son, and by her beautiful gardens. No palace fêtes enlivened the court: the stars of Paris society were the Duchess d'Aiguillon, the Duchess de Montbazon, Madame de Rambouillet, Madame de Sablé, the beautiful Princess Marie de Gonzague Nevers, and the Princess de Condé. The splendid entertainments given by these ladies were assiduously frequented by M. de Cinq-Mars; who soon excited the speculation of all his friends by the warmth of his homage to the Princess Marie de Gonzague, who had been once secretly affianced to Monsieur—a pretension which the King angrily ridiculed. Another kind of entertainment which Cinq-Mars patronised were the receptions of the notorious courtezan Marion de Lorme;* and Louis, who loathed such irregularities, perpetually tormented, and irritated him by injunctions to forego this intimacy. Cinq-Mars retorted insolently; and puzzled his Majesty by desiring him to ask his

* Marion de l'Orme, born in 1611, died in 1650. "C'étoit une belle personne," relates Tallemant; "le nez lui rougissait quelquefois, et pour cela elle se tenait des matinées entières les pieds dans l'eau." She used to visit Richelieu: "déguisée en page; il la reçut en habit de satin gris de lin, en broderie d'or et d'argent, bottée, et avec des plumes."—Tallemant, t. 2, p. 191.

Eminence the Cardinal whether the *soirées* of such a fascinating siren as the Demoiselle de Lorme were to be lightly relinquished.

Such was the progress of the domestic life of King Louis until the 21st of September of the year 1640. At ten o'clock in the evening of that day Queen Anne presented her husband and the nation with a second son. The Queen was ill only for two hours; and the royal babe was born in the presence of the King, and of Mesdames de Condé, de Vendôme, de Montmorency, de Lansac, and de Brassac. The Cardinal, as before, was absent from the capital at the camp near Chaunes; but a messenger was immediately despatched to carry the joyful news to his Eminence. The child was baptised in the Queen's bed-chamber by the Bishop of Meaux, and was named Philip.* "I have heard the Queen say, that the King testified more joy at the birth of this son than he did when M. le Dauphin was born," relates Madame de Motteville. "The reason doubtless was, that his Majesty did not expect the great happiness of beholding himself the father of two sons—he who never hoped to see himself a father." Great rejoicings ensued throughout the realm for the birth of M. le Duc d'Anjou; the child, however, was weak and puny, and very different in strength, and vivacity to Anne's beautiful first-born. Madame de Lansac

* Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. ii.—Naissance de Monseigneur le Duc d'Anjou, Philippe de France.—Hilarion de Coste, Éloges des Dauphins de France.

had the charge of both the children; but the Queen was a devoted mother, and spent hours in watching the slumbers of her infants.

From the birth of Louis, whom the people surnamed Dieu-donné, Anne appears to have relinquished her correspondences with Spain; and with other princes inimical to France. Although the Queen treated the Cardinal in public with cold hauteur, letters often passed between them; and it was remarked that when she had any petition to prefer to the King, it was Richelieu's assistance which she now sought. Madame d'Aiguillon was evidently welcome to the Queen; and on more than one occasion her Majesty accepted fêtes from the Cardinal at Ruel, where the duchess presided as hostess—a condescension which she had never before vouchsafed.* The marriage of the niece of the Cardinal, Claire Clémence de Maillé, with the Duc d'Enghien, son of Condé, was well received, against all expectation, by Anne, who overwhelmed the timid young bride with caresses and favours. Whilst M. d'Enghien was gaining that experience in arms which rendered him one of the greatest captains of the age, the bride of the future Great Condé was sent by her uncle to the convent of the Carmelites de St. Denis to complete her education. "Our minister," writes la Grande

* "La petite cour de la reine ressembloit à des pensionnaires en récréation—Madame d'Aiguillon faisoit les honneurs avec le Cardinal."—Mém. d'Anne de Gonzague, Princesse Palatine.

Mademoiselle,* "ought apparently to have repaid this great honour, of alliance by marriage, with the royal house, by submission and assiduous duty to M. le Prince de Condé: it was quite the contrary, however; M. le Prince asked the Cardinal almost on his knees to give Mademoiselle de Brezé to his son, as if she had been the queen of the whole world. To testify to the minister that he wished for no other interests or attachments, he actually requested him to unite his nephew, M. le Marquis de Brezé, with Mademoiselle de Bourbon! M. le Cardinal replied, that he had no objection to give gentlewomen to princes, but not simple gentlemen to princesses: he therefore only did M. le Prince the favour to grant Mademoiselle de Brezé to M. d'Enghien. They were affianced in the chamber of the King. A ball followed, at which Mademoiselle de Brezé, being extremely little, fell, whilst she was dancing a couranto, because to make her look taller they had given her such high-heeled shoes that she could scarcely stand. All the company laughed, not excepting M. d'Enghien, who had consented with great regret to this alliance in order not to displease Monsieur, his father."

In the midst of all his magnificence and successes, the health of Richelieu languished. Outwardly, the smooth intellectual face showed no sign of suffering; and the upright, majestic figure bravely bore the burden of fifty years, and of the political

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, t. 1.—Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII. t. 4.

cares which seldom permitted respite from toil. The Cardinal constantly suffered from abscesses in his side, and on his shoulders, which at times caused him excruciating agony. He was subject also to violent pains in the head, and to sleeplessness; yet the bright, brave spirit struggled on. In the camp and in the council-chamber, Richelieu was ever at his post, writing voluminous despatches with a hand and arm sometimes partially disabled by pain; but alluding therein only casually to his sufferings. The Cardinal usually retired for the night at eleven o'clock: he slept for four hours; and at three o'clock his secretary entered with writing materials and a despatch-box. Richelieu rose, and dictated despatches until six o'clock, when he again retired to bed for two hours. Every Sunday he received the Holy Eucharist at dawn. He dined at one o'clock, then considered to be a very late hour. The afternoon was spent with the King, in granting audiences, in receiving artists, men of letters, and in taking exercise on foot, and an airing along the fashionable promenade of Paris, Le Cours de la Reine, which was close to the Luxembourg palace, the unfinished residence of the unfortunate Queen-mother. At night Richelieu supped magnificently—a banquet of which it was considered the highest honour to partake. Cards, music, and conversation were then the pastimes of the *salons* of the Palais Cardinal, until eleven o'clock, when the Cardinal withdrew, except on special occasions.

Early in the New Year, 1641, the everlasting disputes of the King, and his favourite, more than ever harassed Richelieu. Both the King and Cinq-Mars appealed to him to settle their silly bickerings. Though the torment was irksome, yet to Richelieu it was not unacceptable, inasmuch as it assured him that his influence was dominant. As a specimen of the ludicrous correspondence which troubled the repose of the great minister, is the following epistle from the King :—

"From St. Germain, this 5th day of January, at four o'clock of the evening, 1641.

"I regret much to trouble you again with the bad tempers of M. le Grand. On his return from Ruel, he gave me the packet which you sent. I opened, and read its contents. I then said to M. le Grand, 'The Cardinal writes to me that you have testified to him much anxiety to please me: nevertheless, you still refrain from giving me content on a subject which I often speak upon, that is, your extreme laziness.' M. le Grand replied, 'that you had been remonstrating with him thereon; but upon that chapter it was not his intention to change; nor did he intend to do better than heretofore.' This speech made me angry. I said: 'A man of your rank, ought to render himself worthy of high military commands: you have always assured me that such is your ambition; but idleness, I can tell you, is very contrary to such aspirations.' He then rudely re-

plied, 'that he had never such idea; nor intended to aspire to military commands.' I replied, that he had so done; but refrained from pursuing the theme. I presently resumed my remarks upon slothfulness; observing, 'that this vice rendered a man incapable of any good thing; and that it was worthy only of the loungers of the Marais, who thought of nothing but pleasure; and that, if it was his intention to continue this life of sloth, he had better retire thither.' He then arrogantly replied, 'that he was quite ready to retire.' I then said—'If I possessed not more self-control than yourself, I know what I should answer you;' adding, that being under such obligations to me, he ought not to speak in such uncouth fashion. M. le Grand then said, with his usual insolence, 'that he did not want my benefits, and was ready to give me back all that I had bestowed, and that he could do very well without me; and was just as content to be simply Cinq-Mars, as M. le Grand; but as for changing his habits and way of life, he could not, and would not.' We then continued to rally one another in this manner, until I descended into the court-yard of the castle, expressing my wish, 'that while he continued in the same evil humour, that he would refrain from presenting himself before me.' He replied, 'that he would willingly refrain.' I have not seen him since. All this passed in the presence and hearing of de Gordes.

"Louis."

"P.S. I have shown this letter to de Gordes,

who testifies to have read nothing therein but the truth."*

Cinq-Mars, in the same style of excitement, writes on this occasion both to Richelieu, and to M. de Noyers. To the former he prefers an entreaty that he will abandon him to his fate, and to the anger of the King, as he finds his position at court insupportable.† To de Noyers he is more explicit. "You may judge of my miserable condition, by contemplating the extremities to which I am constantly driven. I conjure you, if you ever felt friendship for me, combine no longer to force upon me so wretched a life; but consult with his Eminence on the means of my deliverance, so that the aversion of the King may no longer persecute me. This is all that I wish, and all that I desire.——Effiat de Cinq-Mars." ‡ A few hours after writing these epistles, the King and his favourite had made friends, and had again become inseparable, to the consternation of all persons foolish enough to have interfered in the quarrel. Whenever the King sulkily refused to see Cinq-Mars,—who usually sat with his Majesty at night until he fell asleep,—the valets and pages in waiting concealed him in a dark corridor; and when his accustomed time for retiring arrived, Cinq-Mars boldly walked from the ante-chamber of the royal apartment, bow-

* Aubéry, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. du Card. de Richelieu, t. 5.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.

ing to the courtiers who waited to attend him to his own chamber, as if his vigil had been accomplished. The attachment which Cinq-Mars entertained for the Princess Marie de Gonzague, and his hopes of gaining her hand, gradually produced that reformation in his habits which Louis had vainly recommended. During the course of the summer of 1642, his self-possession and apparent steadiness of conduct, gained for him commendation, and increased influence over the mind of his royal master. The silent, but irresistible influence of the Cardinal minister from thenceforth set in, to check the career of the favourite, and to circumvent his ambitious projects. Marie de Gonzague bade Cinq-Mars obtain the sword of Constable of France, with the patent of duke and peer, as the price of her hand. One day, therefore, M. le Grand, with characteristic audacity, waited on the minister, and asked for the interest of the latter, to procure the hand of the Princess Marie, and the rank of a duke. Richelieu eyed his suppliant with a glance of mingled amusement, and irony; chiding the ambitious young man for his presumption, while absolutely refusing the patent he craved. "As for the Princess Marie, you must be crazy, monsieur, to aspire to the hand of a princess who was once destined to be the bride of Monsieur; while Madame Marie herself is mad, if she has given you the encouragement you are bold enough to pro-

claim!" * Cinq-Mars, however, believed in his own destiny, and in the attachment of Marie de Gonzague. He haughtily left the presence of Richelieu, resolved, as he declared, to follow the example of the late Duke de Luynes—who foiled the Queen-mother, and had won the bâton of Constable of France, and with it the hand of Marie de Rohan.

Some time elapsed, and it happened that M. le Grand was with the King, when Richelieu and the lords of the privy council entered to confer with his Majesty. Louis, after some hesitation, took his favourite by the hand, saying in a weak voice, addressing Richelieu:—"In order that this, my dearest friend, may one day be capable of serving me, it is my will that he now takes his seat in my council." The Cardinal smiled his affable smile; complimented M. le Grand; but submitted to his royal master documents of trivial moment only, and took his leave. At the usual hour, Richelieu had his private audience: M. de Cinq-Mars was then summoned, and briefly informed by the King, in his driest voice, that his admission to the council-board was cancelled! The King also added several uncomplimentary allusions to the dissipations in which he was informed, that M. le Grand habitually indulged.† From that moment, Cinq-Mars was the

* Procès Verbal du Procès de Cinq-Mars et de M. de Thou. Tallemant des Réaux.—Vie de M. de Cinq-Mars. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4.

† Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII., t. 4, p. 518.

deadly enemy of Richelieu, and resolved to compass his overthrow, or to perish in the attempt. The old elements of cabal were still dispersed throughout the realm: but a wiser and more subtle man than Cinq-Mars would have avoided renewing the life, and vitality of a combination, which had always dissolved before the test of Richelieu's genius. There was Monsieur, pining in discontent at Blois, whose mind was always in a chronic state of rebellion: there was the Duke de Bouillon, whose stronghold of Sedan rendered him a giant in civil commotions, who had just coyly accepted the minister's overtures of reconciliation, and had been invested with the command-in-chief of the army of Italy: there was Madame de Chevreuse, and Queen Marie de' Medici—exiles, women of parts, and vindictive, ready to assail their foe, even with the weapons of treason: there was, moreover, Queen Anne of Austria, still shy, reserved, and supposed to be devoted to her brothers; and still the unrelenting opponent of Richelieu. The change in Anne's position was not considered: for it never entered the calculations of the eager conspirators, that the mother of the Dauphin of France might be inspired with other views and designs, than the narrow prejudices which had actuated the childless Queen.* The

* Many persons, however, thought that the Queen, moved by insatiable ambition, and even fearful that untoward revelations might hurl her from the throne, encouraged the malcontents, so long as their machinations were confined to France. "M. le Grand a été poussé à son mauvais dessein par la Reine-mère, par sa fille, par la Reine de France, par Madame

aim of the new conspiracy professed to provide for the government of the realm after the death of the King; to secure to the Duke of Orleans his rights as lieutenant-general of the realm; and to the Queen, her lawful position as guardian, and tutoress of the young King. To render this distribution of power eventually possible, it was deemed necessary to overthrow Richelieu; to annihilate his power by the authority of the King; and to divide among the princes of the blood the functions which he had usurped. The personage who negotiated the treaty between Cinq-Mars, the Duke de Bouillon, and the Duke of Orleans, was M. de Thou, the eldest son of the famous historian of that name. De Thou had also certain liberty of access to the presence of Anne of Austria; as in former days he had advanced money at the request of her Majesty to assist the necessity of the duchess de Chevreuse, and other of the banished ladies. Monsieur eagerly entered into a conspiracy, the aim of which was to exalt him so highly. Bouillon also suffered himself to be persuaded—the object of the conspiracy, he flattered himself, was patriotic, and trenched neither on the royal power, nor the prerogative.

Meantime, Cinq-Mars laboured assiduously to imbitter the spirit of Louis against his minister: all Richelieu's shortcomings were aggravated; his omissions proclaimed; and the suspicions with which

de Chevreuse, par Montagu, et autres papistes d'Angleterre."—Archives des Affaires Etrangères, France, t. 101. Lettre 44. Juillet.

the world had echoed, were assiduously poured into the royal ear. The faults of M. d'Orleans were, on the contrary, palliated; and a pathetic picture was drawn by the wily favourite of Monsieur's unhappy condition, banished from the heart, and the court of his brother, and subjected to a *surveillance* dishonouring to the royal blood. Maudlin tears ran from the King's eyes, as Cinq-Mars drew an affecting picture of the persecution and restraints to which his Majesty was himself subjected, by his ungrateful minister. Finally, Cinq-Mars wept himself at the scenes which his imagination portrayed. Louis, who never enjoyed a luxury so keen as that conferred by a sentimental scene of the kind, replied in broken murmurs to the plaints of his favourite; echoed all his aspirations for release from a condition of such grinding tyranny; pitied his brother; and groaned under the burden of the sin, and the cost of a war, directed against the orthodox dynasties of Austria, and Spain. Cinq-Mars, young, inexperienced, and unacquainted with the wonderful calibre of the royal mind, fell into raptures of gratified ambition. Puffed up with conceit, M. le Grand clasped the King in his arms, and besought him to trust to him for aid, and deliverance: and that he had conceived a project which ere long would bring them happy emancipation. Louis started; looked curiously on his young favourite, and solemnly bade him beware of the arts, and irresistible power of M. le Cardinal. Cinq-Mars smiled, entreated Louis to be silent,

and cautious; to invite M. d'Orleans to court; and steadily to decline the proposal of the Cardinal, to undertake the siege of the fortress of Perpignan in person.* Won by the caresses and submissiveness of his favourite, and really shrinking from the yoke of Richelieu, Louis became gloomy in the company of his minister, but not communicative. Sickness, and repeated meditations on death, and the almost daily use of the confessional, had rendered the King unwilling to pursue the war, or to remain the ally of the heretic sovereigns of Europe. The aptness of Cinq-Mars, his newly-adopted habits of industry, and his majestic person as it ripened into manhood, inspired Louis with the hope that he had at length found a minister able to bear the burden of affairs; and also to become the delight, and companion of his own leisure hours. The eloquence of M. le Grand had done more to undermine the power of the Cardinal de Richelieu, than the machinations of any previous enemy. A plot, however, under the guidance of Monsieur, directed by the inspirations of M. de Cinq-Mars, imbibed from the fitful humours of his royal master, was almost certain to fail in some important link. The first overtures had been wilily concerted; discontent was rampant amongst the high noblesse of the realm; and a coalition

* "Le Roy s'est enfin retourné dans son lit, et m'a dit d'une voix attendrie: 'Bon soir, faites pour le mieux; mais ne commettez point d'imprudence.' Jugez, ma chère princesse, si je ne suis pas autorisé à tout entreprendre!"—Lettre de M. de Cinq-Mars à la Princesse Marie de Gonzague de Nevers.

amongst the friends, and adherents of the banished nobles, such as the Dukes de Vendôme, de Bellegarde, de la Valette, and d'Elbœuf, might have seriously embarrassed the government of Richelieu. The chief conspirators, however, Cinq-Mars, Bouillon, and Monsieur, wanted speedy action—the minister held possession of the fortified places of the realm; the humour of the King might change; the co-operation of Anne of Austria seemed uncertain — against the urgent counsel, and entreaties of M. de Thou, it was, therefore, resolved to negotiate a treaty with Spain. One M. de Fontrailles, cousin to Cinq-Mars, a person of wit, judgment, and courage, was chosen for the dangerous mission to Madrid. Fontrailles had a deformed person; and specially detested the minister for some sharp witticisms, which had greatly wounded his vanity.* Fontrailles, therefore, departed for Madrid, empowered to place the realm of France under the protection of Philip IV. The Catholic King was to be asked for a subsidy, and for troops to garrison Sedan, and other places; and, also to give a pledge that Spanish troops should enter France at the bidding of the conspirators. The Count-duke hesitated: so many intended invasions of France had brought disgrace to the arms of Spain; and ruin to the promoters of such design. The

* Louis d'Astarac, Vicomte de Fontrailles. The Cardinal one day encountered Fontrailles in an antechamber of the Louvre, as his Eminence was advancing in haste to receive some ambassador. "Rangez-vous, rangez-vous, Monsieur!" exclaimed Richelieu, hurriedly; "ne vous montrez pas! Cet ambassadeur n'aime pas les monstres!"

name of Monsieur no longer carried *prestige;* for his inconstancy, and want of mental balance precluded confidence. When informed, however, that Cinq-Mars and the Duke de Bouillon were to be partners in the proposed treaty, Olivarez, with some misgiving, accepted the alliance; as any diversion likely to draw off the armies of France from before Perpignan, might be considered an advantage. It was first expressly stipulated that no enterprise should be undertaken at variance with the interests of Queen Anne, or of M. le Dauphin and his brother.* The document provided that Philip IV. should furnish a force of 12,000 foot soldiers, and of 5000 horse; that a sum of 400,000 crowns should be placed at the disposal of the confederates; that Sedan should be garrisoned with Spaniards on the written request of Bouillon; and that that fortress should be placed at the disposal of the Queen, should she deem it prudent to flee thither for refuge with M. le Dauphin, —for which purpose 300,000 livres were to be provided by his Catholic Majesty for the strengthening

* Mademoiselle asserts that the Queen was secretly apprised of the treaty by the Duke of Orleans, that she did not disapprove, but resolutely refused to share the peril. The duke was the only personage who was aware of Anne's knowledge, and of her resolve to take no share in the proceedings; but, on the contrary, to disavow all relations with the conspirators. The Queen never ceased, it is alleged, to suspect Richelieu, whatever might be the near *liaison* between them; "her Majesty," writes the Duc de Bouillon, "ne douta point que si le Roi venait à mourir, le ministre ne voulut lui ôter ses enfants pour se faire donner à lui-même la régence; aussi par le moyen de M. le Grand, elle voulait assurer sa puissance."

of the fortifications.* The expediency of removing the principal obstacles to the designs of the confederates, by taking the life of Richelieu, was discussed, and enjoined on M. de Fontrailles to recommend to his patrons. This treaty being signed by Philip IV. was brought back to France in triumph, by Fontrailles; who repaired with it to Chambord, where the Duke of Orleans was enjoying the pleasures of the chase, as unconcernedly as if no momentous issue depended on his fidelity, and prudence. Fontrailles then left the realm; no persuasion sufficing to induce him to incur the risk, and the certain ruin of a premature discovery of the treaty which he had negotiated.

The Duc de Bouillon, meantime, had joined the army in Italy, having first signed an order addressed to his commandant in Sedan, empowering that officer to deliver up the fortress on any summons from Monsieur, from Queen Anne, or from M. le Grand. The negotiations with Spain, meantime, were not of course confided to King Louis. As long as the secret of a conspiracy was hidden from the Cardinal, and its object the downfall only of Richelieu, to be brought about by a confederacy of French nobles, the King, evidently, had no objection to the undignified position of one of the cabal. In their foolhardy presumption, Cinq-Mars, and Bouillon, and the Duke of Orleans, had now ventured many

* Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII., Le Vassor. Bernard. Mém. de Bouillon, de la Rochefoucauld, etc.

steps farther :—they had insolently trenched on the prerogative in providing for the future government of the realm; and had rendered themselves guilty of high treason by the crimes of speculating on the demise of the King, and by negotiations with a foreign power—than which, in the opinion of the jealous and sombre Louis, there could be no more abominable offence. A conspiracy to bring about the fall of an obnoxious minister, having the sovereign as its true, though concealed leader, needed no foreign aid to compass its end. The progress, however, was slower than suited the keen fears of Cinq-Mars, and Bouillon. The dubious conduct of Anne of Austria perplexed them, and inspired dread. Without due caution they had confided to her the outline of their first project; but Anne had since sedulously avoided intercourse with M. le Grand. When some of the details of the plot—which as long as the conspirators were only subjects and Frenchmen, was declared to be undertaken to secure the eventual rights of Monsieur, brother of the King—were confided to her Majesty by M. de Thou, she had exhibited the greatest agitation, and had commanded silence. The suspicion, therefore, flashed on the minds of the three conspirators, that, after all, the surmise might be true, that Anne and her reconciled, but late enemy had privately resolved the matter of the rights of Monsieur, and the future government of the realm; and that her Majesty was not inspired with any desire to behold the

claims of Monsieur vindicated. On the first word, therefore, spoken by Anne of Austria, Richelieu held their lives in his hand. To save themselves from this peril, Cinq-Mars had resorted to the expedient of a treaty with Spain—the beloved Spain of Anne's youthful years—making therein a distinct recognition of the claims of the Queen to the Regency, in the event of a minority. Anne, however, steadily declined any communication; hints were lost upon her; and each of the ladies in intimate daily commune had been placed in the palace by Richelieu.* One day Cinq-Mars pointedly asked the Queen whether she had lately heard from the King her brother? Anne replied, in a voice made purposely audible to every one present, "that she had altogether refrained, during many months past, from correspondence with his Catholic Majesty, or with any Spanish personage, such intercourse having been forbidden by her lord the King." The communication, therefore, of the treaty concluded with Spain seems to have been deferred, and left to the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty.

Cinq-Mars attended his royal master from St.

* The Duke de la Rochefoucauld, in his Memoirs (p. 362, et seq.), affirms that Anne knew of the negotiations of Cinq-Mars with sundry vassals of the Crown, and sent M. de Thou to inform him, "de sa liaison avec M. le Grand, et qu'elle lui avoit promis que je serois de ses amis." The duke, however, acquits the Queen of any knowledge of the dealings of the conspirators with Spain, of which he states that her Majesty was perfectly ignorant, and disclaimed with horror, when they came to light. Apparently Anne wished to profit by the conspiracy, but to avoid its penalties.

Germain, on the 23rd of January, to Perpignan; while Anne seems to have permitted Richelieu to leave Paris for the seat of war without revealing the important secret, as far as it had come to her knowledge; nor did she even make an attempt to lighten the cloud of apprehended disgrace which pressed upon the mind of the minister. The Queen appears to have been restrained by a certain sense of honour from making revelations confided to her in the belief that she was swayed by former political partialities; probably she also hoped, knowing or suspecting nothing of the negotiations with her brother, that a project so crude, and of such imperfect development, might be eventually abandoned.

The King took leave of the Queen on the 23rd of January, 1642. His adieux were harsh, and threatening. He forbade the Queen to leave St. Germain during his absence, even to visit Paris; and again renewed his interdict against her correspondence with Madame de Chevreuse, or with any foreign potentate. Neither was Anne to visit the Val de Grâce, nor the Carmelite convent; nor was she to withdraw the young princes even for an hour from the *surveillance* of Madame de Lansac. In case the Queen disobeyed these injunctions, his Majesty gave orders to the captain of his guards, M. de Tresmes, to conduct the Dauphin and his brother, attended by Madame de Lansac, to Vincennes, there to reside until his own return from the South. "Monseigneur, the little dauphin," relates

Madame de Motteville, "had not completed his third year before he began to give his father umbrage. The Queen did me the honour to relate, that the child seeing his father one evening wearing his night-cap after his return from a hunt, began to cry, simply because, as he had never before seen the King in that guise, he was frightened. The King, nevertheless, became very angry, and scolded her Majesty, saying, 'that she brought up her sons to hate him; and, therefore, it was his intention, soon to take them both entirely from her care and society;' a threat which, had Louis lived, he doubtless would have put into execution."

The King, accompanied by Cinq-Mars, at length set out for Perpignan. Louis treated Richelieu, who also attended him, with imperious disdain; and appeared more and more infatuated with his handsome favourite. At Briare the Court made sojourn for a few days, and here Cinq-Mars designed the arrest, or the assassination of his Eminence. There was a majesty and a constancy of purpose in the aspect of Richelieu, which seemed to defy fate. A few hours before the proposed assassination (which was to be effected after the model of that of the Admiral de Coligny), the nose of M. le Grand began to bleed. The persons around interpreted the seizure into an omen of approaching danger; and superstitious dread, therefore, induced Cinq-Mars to recall his sanguinary commands.* At

* Vie de M. de Cinq-Mars; Hist. du Card.-Duc de Richelieu.

Briare, however, Richelieu fell so dangerously ill that his life was despaired of, an abscess having formed on the left lung, which caused him excruciating torture. Cinq-Mars, therefore, believing that a natural death would soon rid him of the benefactor whom he was betraying with such scandalous ingratitude, induced the King to hasten forwards to Narbonne, leaving the Cardinal at Briare, to resume his journey, if returning strength permitted. Richelieu recovered sufficiently in the course of a few days to follow the court; but not wishing in his sickness and prostration to confront his foe, he turned aside and proceeded to Tarascon, where he again took to his bed. Chavigny, il Pastor Fido, as he is termed in the secret ciphers used by the adherents of the minister, alone followed his benefactor, confident still in the bright star of Richelieu. Cinq-Mars, meanwhile, felt stricken under the weight of his secret. Monsieur had left Chambord, and was then enjoying himself in a boisterous state of elation, at the baths at Bourbon; and whether the important parchment, on the safe preservation of which the lives of the confederates depended, was left behind at Chambord, or was carelessly tossing amongst the baggage of the duke, was uncertain. From Paris, the Princess Marie de Gonzague sent warnings that rumours of an alarming nature were abroad; that the Queen was sad, and reported to be in constant correspondence with the Cardinal, whose return to favour was predicted. To allay these anxieties, M.

le Grand despatched an urgent summons to the Duke de Bouillon, who was at Casale, to return to France; so that they might be delivered from disquietude by the prompt overthrow of their enemy.

Meanwhile the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* in Paris proceeded to St. Germain, and after much solicitation, obtained a stolen interview with Queen Anne. From the lips of the envoy, the Queen first received a detail of the treaty recently negotiated with the Spanish cabinet; and at once disavowed all knowledge of, or connivance in the deed. Much surprised, the envoy left a copy of the treaty with her Majesty. A few days subsequently, as the Cardinal de Richelieu was lying on his bed in his lonely chamber at Tarascon, a packet was brought to him, which had arrived by courier from Paris. The feeble fingers of Richelieu nervously grasped the papers, and he commenced their perusal. Soon his eyes sparkled with triumph; he raised himself from his pillow, and the hue of life again mantled his pallid face. "Surely," exclaimed he, "Providence must watch with special love over Richelieu; and the welfare of this great realm!" The paper in his hand was a fac-simile of the treaty executed between Philip IV. of Spain, and the subjects of his Christian Majesty—Orleans, Cinq-Mars, Bouillon, and Fontrailles. It never transpired, publicly, who was the sender of the document; and whose, therefore, had been the hand to restore Richelieu to life

and hope. A paper, moreover, accompanied the document, containing certain hints which implicated M. de Thou, and others.* Amidst the variety of speculations upon the quarter from whence the Cardinal derived this most opportune succour, two suggestions only, obtained credence with the public.

The first and most generally believed opinion was, that Anne of Austria had forwarded the document to the Cardinal; perfect understanding now subsisting between the Queen, and Richelieu. Anne, it was alleged, beheld with intense disapprobation a foreign raid on the future dominions of her son, aided by a conspiracy of the nobles; and therefore, it was her Majesty's intention to lend powerful support to the minister, with whom she was agreed in all matters concerning the presumed long minority of the future King. Moreover, it was observed that the Queen often gave cordial and confidential greeting to M. Mazarin the papal nuncio, who was in the Cardinal's confidence, and had been especially recommended to her royal *bienveillance* by Richelieu. The second surmise respecting the good genius, who had sent the minister such precious intelligence was, that Madame de Chevreuse was that person. Fon-

* Anne distrusted the duke of Orleans, who never ceased to make open declaration of the illegitimacy of the young Dauphin and his brother. Her Majesty, it was alleged, wished to secure the regency by any method; but she shrank in displeasure before a combination, strengthened by the adhesion of Spain, and of which Monsieur was chief, which might hereafter be used against the rights of her son.

trailles retired to Brussels where Madame de Chevreuse was sojourning; he might, therefore, have betrayed the secret to the duchess; or she might have been apprised thereof by the Archduke, governor of the Low Countries. These last suppositions will hardly stand the test of examination; it was not likely that Fontrailles, who was one of the conspirators, should furnish the duchess with arms against himself;* neither does it seem probable that the generous, and impulsive Marie de Rohan would gratuitously betray her friend, De Thou—with whom she was in intimate correspondence; and to whom she was, moreover, heavily in debt—for to his liberality she owed the payment of her English creditors.

As soon as Richelieu had made himself master of the details of "the infamous league concocted by M. le Grand," he summoned Chavigny to his bedside. A long and important conference ensued; at the termination of which Chavigny departed for Narbonne, the bearer of the treaty, and of a letter from Richelieu to lay before the King.† Louis

* Fontrailles replied, in answer to the solicitations of Cinq-Mars, not to abandon France :—"'Pour vous, Monsieur, vous serez encore d'assez belle taille quand on vous aura ôté la tête de dessus les épaules, mais en vérité je suis trop petit pour cela.' Il se sauva en habit de capucin, comme il étoit allé faire le traité en Espagne."

† Richelieu draws a frightful picture in this letter of the probable troubles lurking over the realm : amongst other subjects of alarm, he instances : les lettres du Prince d'Orange ; la gazette de Brussels et celle de Cologne ; les préparatifs de la reine-mère pour venir en France : ce qui s'écrit par lettres sures de Madame de Chevreuse ; les avis que viennent d'Italie ; les espérances des Espagnols ; et la résolution que Monsieur a prit de ne pas venir à la Cour.

was horrified at the revelation; and could scarcely be persuaded to believe in the guilt of Cinq-Mars. The subtle tongue of Chavigny, however, destroyed every doubt: and pointing to the fatal treaty, he drew so overpowering a picture of the perils of the realm; of the black ingratitude of M. de Cinq-Mars; of the treachery of the Duke of Orleans; and of the dark league, to which both his Majesty and his faithful minister had nearly fallen victims, that the unhappy King shivered at the retrospect. Chavigny's pertinent remarks on the perfidy of his idol, did not however vanquish the intense reluctance of the King to grant a warrant for the arrest of all the delinquents—this time not excepting even Monsieur. The agitation of Louis was pitiable to behold, and his lamentations moving in their accent of helpless misery. Suddenly he threw himself on his knees before a crucifix hanging in the alcove close to his bed, and prayed long and fervently. He then caused his confessor, the Abbé Sirmond, to be summoned. Sirmond, however, declared that it was the duty of the King to exact exemplary punishment for crimes of so heinous a nature. The wrath of Louis was rising; and presently he signed an order for the arrest of M. le Grand, which he gave with his own hand, though with tears, to Charost, captain of the guard on duty at Narbonne. The decisive order given, the mind of Louis again became disturbed by doubt. So sombre and wrathful was his mood, that de Noyers wrote in dismay to

Tarascon to request that M. Mazarin might be sent to allay, by persuasive logic, the royal disquietude. "I fear that it will be necessary to devise some plan by which M. Mazarin may discourse with the King, who has now strange reveries. His Majesty said to me yesterday, that he had suspicions that beloved names had been substituted for those of the true criminals. The King was very ill all night; at two o'clock his Majesty took a draught, and afterwards slept for two hours."* In another letter, likewise addressed to Chavigny by his colleague in office, who had returned to consult with the Cardinal, the latter writes, "It is my opinion that the sooner M. Mazarin arrives the better. His Majesty requires consolation, for his heart is very big with grief."† Again, in a despatch to Richelieu, de Noyers sends the intelligence—"The King said in my ear to-day, that 'Sédan was worth the price of a pardon; but that as for M. le Grand he never will pardon him, but would leave him to the judgment of his peers.'" Sentiments of compassion, and remorse for the share he had had in the conspiracy of Cinq-Mars; and the humiliation of reconciliation with Richelieu, likewise harassed the mind of Louis. His Majesty wrote two letters to Richelieu, inviting him to return; and filled with professions of everlasting gratitude, for the "watchful vigilance which

* Lettre de De Noyers à Chavigny, retourné à Tarascon. Archives des Affaires Étrangères, t. 102. Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

† Ibid.

never slumbered, and that had again guarded his realm."

Cinq-Mars, meantime, received positive intimation of the menaced catastrophe; the reserve, besides, of the King's manner, on dismissing him for the last time from the presence, attracted his attention. Every indication—the presence of Chavigny especially, and the sudden resolve of the King to remain at Narbonne—might have warned him of lurking peril. An assignation with the daughter of a gunsmith proved his ruin. While at this woman's house on the night of the 13th of June, 1642, a friend hurriedly apprised him of the order issued, and that Charost was then out to effect his arrest. Through by-streets the unhappy young man fled back to his chamber in the archiepiscopal palace; the royal apartment, however, was strictly guarded, and no access was possible to the King. Cinq-Mars then despairingly threw himself on horseback and galloped towards the gates of the town, whilst Charost and his archers were searching the house he had just quitted. The gates were closed and guarded. Cinq-Mars alighted from his horse, and in the darkness of the night again made his way back to the abode of his mistress. The soldiers had just quitted the house. Cinq-Mars therefore, crept into a stable and hid himself under some trusses of hay. Unfortunately, the master of the house, one M. Burgos, returned home and discovered the fugitive. Burgos consulted a friend, who advised him not to incur

the wrath of the King, by concealing a culprit whose capture was certain on the morrow. Burgos therefore, informed Charost where his intended prisoner lay concealed, and a party of soldiers soon dragged the unfortunate man from his hiding-place.* Cinq-Mars was then placed in a coach, and immediately conducted to the citadel of Montpellier. M. de Thou was arrested the same night, and despatched under a guard to Tarascon, to be subjected to the searching cross-examination of the Cardinal. An officer, M. Duplessis Praslin, was sent to arrest the Duc de Bouillon at Casale, and to commit him to close custody in that citadel; all of which was achieved after some little resistance, and an attempt at concealment on the part of the duke.†

The Duke of Orleans on the first rumour of the arrest of Cinq-Mars fled into the province of Auvergne, hiding in the old dilapidated château, or roving about in disguise, amid the mountainous districts. The Abbé de la Rivière was sent to Tarascon to assure the Cardinal that the duke had been more sinned against, than transgressing. The betrayal of the league with Spain was not then known to Monsieur, who had not even confided the matter to his envoy, La Rivière. The Abbé was therefore so taken by surprise as to utter several damaging observations relative to his master's case, on being

* Vie de Cinq-Mars. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de San Treijo. Le Vassor, Mém. du Cardinal de Richelieu.

† Langlade, Vie de Frederic Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne Duc de Bouillon.—Paris, 1692.

shown the treaty, by Richelieu. The latter now seemed at the summit of triumph; his enemies had fallen with signal defeat, and the realm, exposed to the treacherous machinations of rebels, and of their foreign ally, had need of his support. The King was again at his feet, humbled, feeble, desolate, and sick with bodily infirmities, aggravated by agitation and distress. But the health of Richelieu also was evidently sinking; and his sufferings were palpable enough to enable him to exact as a crowning concession, that his royal master should pay him the indispensable visit of reconciliation. The interview took place at the little hamlet of Montfrin, distant about three miles and a half from Tarascon. Both the King, and his minister were too ill to sit up. Louis travelled in a litter, and was lifted therefrom on to a couch, upon which he was carried into the Cardinal's bed-chamber.* The interview passed in dejection and submission on the part of the King, and in tears and eloquent appeals by Richelieu. Again, the destiny of the kingdom was confided to Richelieu's wisdom; and absolute power given him over the fate of all the prisoners under arrest. At this interview, doubtless, the secret of how he came by the treaty, was revealed by Richelieu to his royal master. Fabert, a lieutenant of the royal guard, who arrested Cinq-Mars, stated that the persons in possession of this secret were MM. de Chavigny and de Noyers,

* Le Vassor, Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII. Bayle Dict. Article Louis XIII. Nouvelle Vie d'Anne d'Autriche, t. 1.

secretaries of state, the King, the Duke of Orleans, the Queen, Mazarin, and himself, but that they all took heed not to divulge so important a fact. "One day some importunate person asked M. le Prince de Condé, how the treaty with Spain had been discovered?" relates Tallemant. "M. le Prince replied in a whisper. M. Voiture, who was present, said afterwards to M. de Chavigny, 'You make so much fuss about your grand secret; nevertheless, M. le Prince knows it.' Chavigny replied, 'M. le Prince de Condé does not know our secret; nevertheless, if he did, he would not dare to reveal it!' Voiture, therefore, understood that the information came from the Queen; besides, it was remarked, that no more was said about taking her children from her, as the King had threatened. It may be urged, however, that if such conjecture was true, Madame de Lansac would not have dared to draw back the curtain of the Queen's bed, and tell her abruptly that M. le Grand was arrested. This, in my opinion," continues Tallemant, "is no contradiction of the supposition. Madame de Lansac, for obvious reasons, was permitted—nay, perhaps ordered—to make such sudden revelation to avert suspicion." Tallemant, moreover, might have added, that Anne's betrayal of the conspiracy having been made with the greatest secrecy, Madame de Lansac was not likely to suppose that her royal mistress suspected even the probability of so sudden an arrest.

In the archives of the French foreign office, however, M. Cousin discovered invaluable documents,

which disclose the sentiments of the Queen on the arrest of Cinq-Mars. On being apprised of the event, Anne wrote through Le Gras, her confidential secretary, to Richelieu, a letter full of congratulation, and indignation at the criminals: "The extreme ingratitude of Cinq-Mars inspires her Majesty with a horror which she is attempting to express in a letter to the King, which she prays M. le Cardinal to present."* "The Queen," writes M. de Brassac, "is so rejoiced at the propitious termination of the conspiracy, that the indisposition from which she was suffering vanished under the influence of her joy."† When Chavigny returned to Paris, at the end of July, to institute commissions to try the prisoners, he paid his respects to the Queen at St. Germain, and writes to report his interview to the minister: "I found the Queen so grateful and mindful of the great obligations which she owes to your Eminence, that I firmly believe it would be a task of great difficulty to induce her to act in anything without your counsel, and permission; she has resolved to follow your wishes in all matters, and has commanded me to give you this assurance on her behalf. . . . ." Again Chavigny writes, August 12th, "I am more than ever persuaded that the tender regard which the Queen testifies towards you, Monseigneur, is sincere; and that there is now

* Vol. MS. 101.

† Juillet, 1642. Ibid. vol. 102. Archives des Affaires Étrangères de France.

nothing easier than to keep her in this mind, as she aspires to no other favour in the world than to be with her children, without pretending to direct their education, which she passionately hopes that your Eminence will superintend. The Queen commanded me to say to your Eminence that she is inspired with the greatest impatience to greet you again." * Fontrailles in a deposition † made when all peril was over, states "that M. de Thou, in the last visit which he paid him, informed him that, to his surprise, the Queen knew of his (Fontrailles) mission to Spain, and its object; and that it was his opinion her Majesty learned the event from Monsieur, and was in her heart glad at a conspiracy which would act as an earthquake in the Court, and from the results of which she might herself derive good, rather than harm." Another piece of circumstantial evidence which seems to affix the betrayal of the conspiracy upon Anne, was her sudden fear lest Madame de Chevreuse should be permitted to return to France. The duchess was in a position to hear much at the Spanish court of Brussels; besides her warm friendship for M. de Thou might induce her to make inconvenient endeavour to clear up the mystery. The Queen, openly faithless at last to her oldest and most devoted friend, sent for Chavigny one morning and asked him whether it was true that the Cardinal

* Ibid. MS.

† Fontrailles. Relation des choses particulières de la Cour pendant la faveur de M. de Cinq-Mars. Pettitot, vol. 54.

was about to yield to the importunity of the duchess de Chevreuse, and permit her to return to France? "Without waiting for my reply," writes Chavigny to Richelieu, "her Majesty proceeded to inform me that she should deeply regret the return of the said lady; for that she now valued her at her proper worth. The Queen then directed me to request your Eminence, in her name, not to permit the duchess de Chevreuse to return to France; but that, if your Eminence had any inclination to confer a favour on the said lady duchess, it might not be that of her recall. I then assured her Majesty you would give her satisfaction on this point. I never saw indications of more sincere satisfaction than that shown by the Queen, when I delivered your message. She moreover protested that she would never more permit Madame de Chevreuse to approach her person; but has taken the firm resolve, which she intends to maintain, as if her salvation depended thereon, never to suffer any person to speak to her, or to give her counsel, which tended to the violation of the smallest of her duties, and of her promises."* In the generous enthusiasm of her disposition, Madame de Chevreuse relied on Anne's friendship, though sorely puzzled by the reports wafted to the court of Brussels, of the Queen's strange indifference to those, whom she used to term her friends. She heard with surprise of the Queen, as being present at the sumptuous fêtes of the Palais Cardinal, even when the

* MS. Archives des Affaires Étrangères, vol. 102. Lettre 28 Juillet.

King was too indisposed to be the guest of Richelieu; that her Majesty's fair face now beamed with smiles and condescension when speaking with the minister; who, on the occasion of her visits, gave pompous entertainments, and stood during the evening behind Anne's chair, arrayed in splendid robes of scarlet velvet, glittering with gems.* Madame de Chevreuse, nevertheless, still believed in the Queen; attributing all that appeared strange in her Majesty's deportment to the inevitable exigencies of her position.

If any event could have tempered the exultation which possessed the heart and mind of Richelieu, it must have been the tidings which reached him while at Tarascon, of the death of Marie de' Medici, his earliest friend and benefactress. The Queen expired at Cologne on the night of the 3rd of July, 1642. Her disorder was dropsy and ulceration of the legs, consequent, it is supposed, on ignorant medical treatment. Such had been the forlorn desolation of this great princess, mother of a King of France, and of the Queens of England and Spain, of a Duchess Regent of Savoy, and of Monsieur, that during the early winter months of 1642, bread and fuel had absolutely failed her! "Marie wearied all the world, and was herself in turn wearied to such degree that she sought throughout the universe for a resting-place,

* At one of these entertainments, called "Le Ballet des Prospérités de l'armée de France," the bishop of Chartres handed the salver of refreshments to the Queen. The salver held twenty silver dishes piled with preserved fruits, sweetmeats, and marmalade.—Mém. de l'Abbé de Marolles.

and found none. England, through the intrigues of Richelieu, rejected her; Spain, through dread of what she might betray, closed the portals of the Low Countries; Holland, daunted by the frown of Richelieu, declined to receive her. At length she repaired to Cologne, where she resided during nine months reduced to indigence, and compelled to use the wooden furniture and cupboards of her apartment for fuel, during the cold of that most rigorous season of 1642."* France, it was true, could not hold Richelieu and the Queen-mother, and one was obliged to succumb before the genius, and fortune of the other. Marie, ill advised to her last hour, stifled the generous remorse which on several occasions arose in the bosom of her great adversary, by the vindictiveness of her impotent threats; and by the vow she had registered, if ever she returned to France, to compass the judicial death, or the assassination of Richelieu. It was unjustifiable, nevertheless, to sequestrate her revenues, to dishonour the pecuniary drafts which her necessity compelled her to give on the exchequer of her son, the King; and to poison the ear, and alienate from the friendless Princess, the regard of the potentates her nearest kinsmen, by mendacious slanders, listened to only, because they were propounded by the

* Dreux du Radier. Vie de Marie de' Medici. Mém. de Brienne, t. 2. Motteville Mémoires, t. 1. Siri, Mém. Recondite. The following verse was composed in allusion to the place of her interment, near the shrine of the Three Kings in the Cathedral of Cologne:

"Tres Reges mihi dona ferunt: dat thura BRITANNUS,
Aurum IBER; at myrrham tu mihi, NATE, dabis."

envoys of mighty France. On her dying bed Marie forgave all her enemies, and Richelieu by name. The Papal nuncio, who assisted her in that solemn hour, asked her whether, as a supreme act of faith and humility, she would send a bracelet she then wore on her arm, to the Cardinal? The dying Queen turned impatiently away; "*Ah, c'est trop!*" exclaimed she with energy, and spoke no more for several hours. The last will and testament of Marie de' Medici was witnessed by the nuncio, by the Archbishop of Cologne, and by other churchmen of note. Marie's bequests were numerous, as she left legacies to all her servants and officers. To Anne of Austria she bequeathed the diamond ring of her own betrothal to Henri Quatre. To her daughter Henrietta Queen of England, her fragment of the true cross, encircled by pearls and diamonds.* The remains of the Queen were interred in the cathedral of Cologne; subsequently the coffin was exhumed during the regency of Anne of Austria, and transported to France, where it was placed in the royal mausoleum at St. Denis.

The death of Marie de' Medici inspired no merciful promptings in the heart of Richelieu. Though crippled with bodily infirmities, he panted for vengeance on those who had so nearly compassed his overthrow. The King, incensed by his vivid representations, seemed to find solace only in vituperations on the career of his late unhappy favourite. Louis

* Testament de Marie de' Medici, Reine-Mère du Roi.—Journal de Richelieu.

now declared that he had never truly liked Cinq-Mars, whose idleness *le faisoit vomir;* his Majesty further exclaimed, with childish inanity, "That great, fat, idle, wicked boy Cinq-Mars, never said a *pater*, nor could he ever induce him to try." When the King was at Lyons, on his road back to Paris, Cinq-Mars sent an impassioned appeal for pardon, and for an interview. Louis, when he received the message, was pleasantly engaged in his apartment over a stove, boiling a composition of sugar and treacle, which schoolboys in the nineteenth century call lollipop. "No," said his Majesty, in reply to the appeal, taking the pan off the fire, and shaking its contents. "No! the soul of Cinq-Mars is as black as the bottom of this pan! I will give him no audience!"* M. de Thou, meantime, was put on board a barge under a guard of soldiers, and followed in the train of the Cardinal up the Rhone to Lyons. His fate does not appear to have evoked from his contemporaries that tribute of sympathy which posterity has assigned him. Possessing a name illustrious in legal and literary annals, de Thou displayed a sensitive eagerness to be recognised as an equal, by the feudal princes of the land. His mind was inconstant, restless, and craving for novelty. His character was so undecided, that it is recorded, when he left home, he sometimes lingered for an hour on his door-step, before he could make up his mind in what direction to walk. He entered into

* Tallemant des Réaux. The royal words were, "L'âme de Cinq-Mars est aussi noire que le cul de ce poêlon."

the designs of M. le Grand from delight at the notoriety they were likely to confer. He had attached himself to the car of Madame de Guémené, and bore patiently the caprices of so great a lady, solely that his name might be linked with hers *en rapport*, as one of her accepted admirers. Cinq-Mars had nicknamed de Thou "Son Inquiétude," as he was always in a chronic state of excitement, and never happy except in a state of ferment.

The commission for the trial of MM. Cinq-Mars and de Thou was issued on the 6th of August, 1642. The royal commissioners were the Chancellor Séguier and six other judges. Louis published a manifesto, addressed to the Parliament of Paris, in which he brands his late unfortunate favourite with angry epithets. The King states that the cunning policy of the Sieur de Cinq-Mars was to proclaim evil tidings, and to hide happy events; to depreciate the policy of Richelieu, and to laud that of Olivarez; to mock at religion, with a facility which testified that the love of God was far from his heart. "His imprudence, impudence, flippancy, and the intelligences which he held in our army," continues his Majesty, "confirmed our growing suspicions. We afterwards discovered that his evil-balanced mind had betrayed him into forming a league against our realm; that the Duc de Bouillon was to open at Sédan the portals of our kingdom to foreign armies, at the head of which our very dear brother the Duc d'Orleans was to march; and that this miserable man was to join

them, in case he could not serve his faction better by remaining near our person, and ruining the influence of our cousin the Cardinal de Richelieu." Louis thus continues, and states the items and condition of the treaty.* The Chancellor, after subjecting the accused persons to one interrogatory, repaired to the town of Villefranche in the Beaujolais, to question Monsieur, who had been reduced to a pitiable condition of terror on being apprised that his doings with Spain were known to his brother. He therefore avowed all he knew, with the most *naïve* candour; and declared himself ready to assist M. le Cardinal in forwarding the ends of justice on the persons arrested. This contemptible prince confirmed by his confession that which was already known.† He vindicated de Thou from being an accomplice in the Spanish treaty; but acknowledged, that he was aware that such a document had been obtained. Finally, Monsieur delivered up to the Chancellor the original treaty which had been brought to Chambord by M. de Fontrailles.

The prisoners Cinq-Mars and de Thou were both confined in the fort of Pierre Encise of Lyons, to which place the former had been transferred. Richelieu, during the trial, remained in the

* Lettre de Cachet au Parlement de Paris sur les Deportments de M. de Cinq-Mars.—Archives Curieuses, t. 5, 2me series.

† Ibid. Richelieu assured Monsieur that this submission to the royal will "ne lui porterait aucun déshonneur; et qu'au contraire s'il le faisait résoluement et noblement, elle passerait pour une acte de bonté et de générosité tout à fait digne d'un grand prince!" When Richelieu had extorted from the craven prince all he wanted, he speedily changed his tone!

neighbourhood of Lyons, with his niece, Madame d'Aiguillon, and other friends. The fatal treaty was evidence sufficient to procure the condemnation of Cinq-Mars, who behaved throughout the trial with a courage and lofty resignation which affected even his judges. He was condemned to the question, *ordinaire et extraordinaire ;* but by command of the King was led only into the torture chamber, and there required again to make solemn affirmation that he had nothing more to confess. De Thou was likewise condemned to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, because *il avait brouillé,* and had not denounced the traitorous conspiracy to which he had been all along privy. Sentence of decapitation was pronounced on both the prisoners, September 12th, 1642, which was executed the same day. Cinq-Mars died like a hero, and a Christian; he forgave his enemies, and with steady resolution laid his head on the block, which was severed from his body at the first blow. The spectators melted into tears as they witnessed the cruel fate of a cavalier so accomplished and beautiful; and whose errors had been fostered and encouraged by the selfish indulgences of the King. De Thou met his fate calmly, but with less outward courage. His face was pallid as he ascended the scaffold streaming with the blood of his unfortunate friend; and it was observed that his arms trembled. Less fortunate than Cinq-Mars, the headsman, unnerved by the tragedy already enacted, failed at the first stroke to sever the head. The blow descended on

the skull, but fortunately rendered the unhappy sufferer senseless; while the horror of the spectators was such, as the executioner finished his dreadful task, that women fainted, and the mob with groans and cries of indignation pressed towards the scaffold, and were restrained only from tearing it down by the advance of troops from the garrison.* It was supposed that the torture had been spared Cinq-Mars by the craven fears of Louis XIII., lest the former might betray the plans which they had formerly discussed to the detriment of the Cardinal. Probably, had Cinq-Mars known less of the King's secret sentiments, his life might have been spared to the agonised supplications of his mother. "Madame," wrote the Cardinal from Lyons to the unhappy mother,† "if your son had been only guilty of the many plots now come to light for my destruction, I would forget my own injuries to grant your desires; but your son having been convicted of most perfidious infidelity towards the King, and having placed himself at the head of a league to disturb the prosperity of his master's reign, and to betray him for strangers and foreigners, enemies of this realm, I must decline to interest

* Procès de MM. de Cinq-Mars et de Thou: Archives Curieuses, t. 5. Vie de M. de Cinq-Mars. Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de Louis XIII. t. 4.

† Aubéry: Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de Card. de Richelieu, t. 5. Marie de Fourci, Maréchale d'Effiat. Cinq-Mars had one sister, Marie Coiffier: she was first betrothed to Jean d'Aligre Seigneur de Beauvais; but eventually married Charles de la Porte, Marshal Duc de la Meilleraye. Their only son was the husband of the heiress of Mazarin, Hortense Mancini.

myself in his affairs altogether. I pray, Madame, that God may console you." The Duke of Bouillon, meantime, had remained a prisoner in the fort of Casale, from whence, after the death of Cinq-Mars, he was removed to Lyons. His ultimate fate excited many discussions in council. The duke, admonished by the fate of the M. de Montmorency, and therefore relying little on the consideration due to his august rank, wrote to the Cardinal offering to submit to any terms he might think fit to impose, short of exile and confiscation of his wealth, and dignities. Madame de Bouillon,* who was a woman of courage and spirit, rendered the duke's letter the more emphatic by writing to the Cardinal imploring his powerful intercession with the King; but stating in positive language, that if the persuasion of his Eminence failed, she intended to deliver up the fortress and principality of Sédan, to the Spaniards. The Prince of Orange, uncle of the Duc de Bouillon, also sent the Count d'Estrades to Paris to offer intercession. The Prince, during Richelieu's temporary eclipse, had stood his firm friend, in genuine admiration of his administrative talents. The Prince had directed the Dutch ambassador to wait upon King Louis before his departure for Perpignan, to express the regret of the States that the Cardinal de Richelieu seemed to have fallen from the royal favour;

* Langlade: Vie du Duc de Bouillon (Fred. Maurice). See the letters which passed between Richelieu and Madame de Bouillon, Aubéry, t. v.

which declension occasioned great uneasiness to the German allies of the crown, who, by their confidence, in the ability of the great Cardinal, were restrained only from concluding a peace with Spain. This good office Richelieu resolved to requite by sparing the life of the Duc de Bouillon. A private arrangement was therefore concluded. Bouillon confessed his guilty connivance in the machinations of Cinq-Mars; and gratefully accepted the terms of pardon imposed—which were, "the cession of the fortress and principality of Sédan to the crown, with all the neighbouring lands appertaining to Bouillon, and the artillery and munitions in store, in return for life and liberty, which the duke humbly craves may be accorded to him within the next fourteen days." * The possession of Sédan was more important to the King of France than the enforcement of the law against Bouillon; for the death on the scaffold of the duke could not have been followed by the legal confiscation of his principality, which he held independently of the crown. The duchess therefore, might have called Spanish troops to her aid; or, what was most probable, after the death of the duke she would have delivered up Sédan to the Prince of Orange and a Dutch garrison, to hold in trust for the young duke, her step-son. A pardon under the great seal was issued on the 15th of September by the King "in

* "On arreta," writes Langlade, "que le Roy auroit la place; qu'il en donnerait la récompense en terres dans le royaume; que pendant qu'on travailleroit à l'execution des conditions, le duc sorterait de prison."

consideration of the earnest intercessions of our cousins, the Prince of Orange, and the Landgravine of Hesse." The following day Bouillon was set at liberty, and retired to his château de Turenne.* Mazarin negotiated the treaty; and was sent by Louis to take possession of Sédan on behalf of the crown. He narrowly escaped capture by the Count de Bucquoy, an officer in the pay of Spain, who set an ambuscade of 800 cavaliers near to Donchéry to attack the Cardinal and his escort; which consisted of twenty-two companies of Swiss, and royal guards. Mazarin, however, happily avoided the peril, by travelling by night. He entered Sédan where he was received by the Duchesse de Bouillon, who delivered up the fortress and its stores, in accordance with the treaty signed by her husband—and thus the great chieftains of La Marck, ceased to be sovereign princes.

"Sire! your enemies are dead, and Perpignan is yours!" wrote Richelieu from Lyons to the King on the 14th of September. The great southern fortress, reported to be impregnable, had fallen most opportunely, so as to enable the Cardinal to proclaim its surrender in the same despatch which informed the King of the execution of Cinq-Mars, and of M. de Thou. The glory of the capture of Perpignan remained with the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who commanded the last storming of the iron walls of the

* "Là chaque jour le duc donnait quelques heures à la lecture des Saints Pères, et à la prière."—Langlade, Vie du Duc de Bouillon.

citadel; which, perched on the summit of an almost perpendicular rock, could not be mined. There was one weak point only by which the garrison might be driven forth—the want of water: the assault given by the Marshal destroyed the only well of the fortress, and ten days afterwards the garrison capitulated.

Richelieu now prepared for his triumphant advance to the capital. The temper of the King was not satisfactory: he simply expressed his obligations to his minister; and there was a gloom and reserve in his communication which disturbed Richelieu. The Queen hastened, however, to write to the Cardinal; and she sent him a portrait of M. le Dauphin, which attention, as he observed to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, greatly comforted him: "I cannot sufficiently thank your Majesty for this favour. I revere the portrait of M. le Dauphin, as I shall all my life revere his person. May God grant that my successors in office may render him the faithful services that I have always offered to the King, and to your Majesty." *

From Lyons the Cardinal travelled to the capital with the pompous progress of a sovereign prince. His infirmities were now so great, that he could not bear the motion of any kind of carriage drawn by horses. The greater part of the journey, therefore, was performed by water. The Cardinal had thus a comfortable journey from Tarascon to Lyons; but

* Aubéry, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Card. de Richelieu, t. v.

from Lyons to Roanne, the place where he was to embark on the Loire, many miles of country intervened. A large chamber of wood was therefore built, having windows and doors, draped on the outside with red damask, and ornamented with gold mouldings. In wet weather a cover of oil cloth was prepared to case the damask, and to render the chamber waterproof. Inside was a bed, a couch, a table, a mirror, and a chair for the secretary of the minister, or for the occupation of Madame d'Aiguillon. Twelve gentlemen of the guard bore along this sumptuous litter by gilded staves resting on their shoulders. In this state the Cardinal was borne from Lyons to embark on the river Loire by his devoted gentlemen in turn, who all persisted in marching bareheaded. His barge was superbly adorned; and his couch was placed on deck under a velvet canopy. The barge was followed by that of Madame d'Aiguillon; then came the superb litter in a boat, surmounted by the royal standard, and by the banner of Richelieu. The flotilla was attended by a number of smaller barges and boats, which gliding up the river, presented a picturesque spectacle. On either side of the river a squadron of cavalry followed the state barge, to watch over the safety of the great minister. Every night Richelieu landed, and was borne, reclining in his litter, to the lodgings prepared in each of the large towns on his route. No obstacles were suffered to impede his progress; walls were thrown down to facilitate the passage of his litter; the windows of

houses were taken out to give it admittance into the chamber prepared: if the lodging happened to be on the second story of a house, a gradual ascent from the street, or the courtyard, to an aperture on a level with the chamber was constructed of planks railed in on each side, up which he was borne by his faithful body-guard.* When his Eminence arrived at a town, a deputation of municipal authorities received and attended him to his abode: the bells of the town rang merrily, and the flag of Richelieu was seen floating side by side with the banner of the *fleurs-de-lis*. The pompous landing at Nevers was witnessed and described by the Abbé de Marolles,† the faithful friend and almoner of the Princess Marie de Gonzague-Nevers; who, heart-broken at the execution of Cinq-Mars, had retired to the palace of her ancestors to deplore her fault, in having stimulated the ill-regulated ambition of that unfortunate man.

The Cardinal rested for an interval at Fontainebleau, and arrived at Ruel about the middle of October, 1642.‡ The acute pains which constantly

* "Comme le Cardinal était incommodé, il trouva moyen de marcher sans se lever de son lit, y étant couché et porté par seize personnes. Jamais il n'entroit par la porte dans la maison où il devoit loger; mais M. du Noyers, faisant pour le dire ainsi le maréchal de logis, allait devant, et avoit soin de faire faire une overture à l'endroit des fenêtres de la chambre où il devoit reposer. On dressoit en même temps un grand échafaud dans la rue, sur lequel on montait par des degrés afin que l'on pût passer, et faire entrer dans la chambre, le lit magnifique dans lequel son Eminence était couchée."—Mém. du Sieur de Pontis.

† Mém. de Michel de Marolles: Paris, 1656.

‡ "On tendit les chaînes à Paris dans toutes les rues où il devoit passer, afin d'empêcher la grande confusion du peuple, qui accourait de

racked his limbs rendered him irritable, and more than ever inclined to domineer over a master only too ready to concede. Indeed Richelieu's pretensions and demands showed, that for the future he intended to share the royal splendour, as well as the power of the throne. Louis paid his minister a visit on his arrival at Ruel; the Cardinal did not rise as his Majesty entered the chamber. His bodily infirmities were probably the occasion of this disregard of proper etiquette; and as such Louis would have excused the omission. The Cardinal however coldly remarked, "that princes of the Church were not bound to show deference to any secular power; and that for the future he should avail himself of his privilege." Queen Anne and her dauphin visited Ruel on the same day. Richelieu kissed her Majesty's hand, and asked permission to embrace Monseigneur, but did not rise from his couch.* Against M. d'Orléans the anger of Richelieu burned fiercely; and he made no attempt to conceal his sentiments of profound contempt, and indignation. In this feeling Louis entirely sympathised with his minister; and between the two an edict was concerted to deprive Monsieur, and his posterity of their rights to the succession, in the event of the extinction of the issue male of Louis XIII.; a forfeiture justly incurred by his repeated, and malignant treason. This edict was likewise, to debar the

toutes parts pour voir cette espèce de triomphe d'un Cardinal, et d'un ministre couché dans son lit," &c.

* Hist. de la Fronde—Sainte Aulaire, p. 72.

duke for ever, from holding executive, or military functions in the realm; it again denied the validity of his marriage with Marguerite de Lorraine; and interdicted his residence in Paris, or wherever the court might be sojourning. The secret was confided to Mazarin, to Chavigny, and to de Noyers. It was proposed to present the Act of deprivation for the sanction of the Parliament of Paris; and subsequently, to convoke the States of the realm to give it final ratification. The death of the Cardinal, however, intervened, before this great judicial decree was ready for presentation either to the council of state, or to the Parliament. Cardinal Mazarin, meantime, had been promoted to the place vacant by the death of Father Joseph*—that of confidential adviser, and bosom friend of the minister. The charming manners of the subtle Italian, his pliability and keen intellect; his vast conceptions of the power of the sovereign prerogative; and his unaffected sympathy for the woes, mental and bodily, of Richelieu, rendered him an indispensable personage at the Palais Cardinal. Mazarin's† soft words, and winning appeals, fell like oil on the billows of royal wrath; and often under his soothing expostulations, Louis's trouble subsided. It was remarked by all the *habitués* of the Louvre, that since the death of Cinq-Mars, the temper of the King had become more morose; and that at times his Majesty could scarcely conceal his fear, and his

* Father Joseph de Tremblay died at Ruel in April of the year 1638.

† Giulio Mazzarini, born 1592, died 1661.

detestation of his minister. So threatening was the temper of the King, that Richelieu, remembering the fate of the Marquis d'Ancre, seldom ventured to the Louvre. About this time, therefore, he demanded that his guards might attend him to the palace, and wait his exit in the guard-chamber of the Louvre. The request threw the King into a paroxysm of wrath; which was increased when one afternoon Chavigny appeared with a peremptory demand from the minister for the dismissal of four officers of the household—to wit, Troisville, lieutenant of the famed Mousquetaires du Roi; of MM. Tailladet, La Salle, and des Essarts, captains in the body-guard. The Cardinal pleaded that his life was not safe from the violence of these gentlemen; that M. de Cinq-Mars had deposed at his trial that the King, on introducing to him M. de Troisville, said, "Behold M. le Grand, a truly faithful man, who will any day at my command rid me of M. le Cardinal;" that if his Majesty should be pleased to deny his request, he must retire from the perilous burden of affairs. "But, M. de Chavigny," replied the King, "consider—Troisville* serves me faithfully; and he has received abundant proofs of my satisfaction at his services!" "Sire!" retorted Chavigny, "consider also how well M. le Cardinal has served you! consider, that he is faithful, and moreover indispensable to your government. You ought not to weigh a M. de Troisville in the same balance!" Louis made no reply, and the

* Henri Joseph de Peyre, Comte de Troisville.

secretary of state therefore withdrew, to report to Richelieu the result of his audience. "What, M. de Chavigny, you said nothing more! You did not press the King more urgently; you did not tell his Majesty that he had no alternative but to comply!" exclaimed the Cardinal, fiercely.* A few days elapsed, during which Richelieu caused rumours to be bruited abroad that he was about to resign the conduct of affairs. The panic was great; and the Dutch ambassador again asked audience of the King, to impart the fears of his government. He intimated, that the appointment of a minister professing a less liberal policy than M. le Cardinal, would necessarily be followed by a treaty of peace between the States of Holland, and his Catholic Majesty; as it did not seem probable, that a minister of rigid orthodoxy would long maintain the alliances of the French crown with the heretic Powers of Europe. The same remonstrances were spoken by Grotius on behalf of the young Queen Christina of Sweden. The adherents of Monsieur also took heart, and began to show themselves in Paris. The Cardinal was enraptured at the ferment, which completed the desparing perplexity of the King. Chavigny, therefore, soon afterwards appeared at St. Germain, and presented a paper which contained the formal resignation by Richelieu of his offices, and a demand for permission to withdraw

* Tallemant—Le Cardinal de Richelieu. "La tête vous a tourné, M. de Chavigny, la tête vous a tourné!" Chavigny ensuite lui jura qu'il avoit dit au Roi, "Sire, il faut que vous le fassiez!"

to the château de Richelieu. The fury of the King was now vehemently excited. "Leave me!" exclaimed his Majesty, "leave me, sir, and carry back this paper to him who sent you, and say that I mistrust those around him far more than he suspects the worthy lieutenant of my musketeers, and the three honest captains he names! I refer to you, Chavigny, and to your friend de Noyers. If Troisville and the others are exiled, I will banish you both from court at the same time."* Notwithstanding the displeasure of the King, Richelieu persisted in his demand of retiring from office. On the 26th of November, therefore, the three captains received *congé*. The King made one more effort on behalf of Troisville, whom he highly esteemed; but this resistence was a further incentive to the Cardinal to insist upon his dismissal. "Perseverance, like faith, removes mountains," observed his Eminence, to Mazarin; "Troisville shall decamp." Louis was compelled by his inert habits and his inaptitude for affairs, to accept this alternative, rather than the resignation of his minister. He, however, refused to nominate other persons to the posts vacated; but decreed that his exiled officers should continue to receive their pay regularly as if in actual service. On the 1st of December Louis sent a gracious message to Troisville. "I am expressly ordered by his Majesty," said the King's envoy, "to assure you of his favour. If he has

* Galerie des Personnages Illustres de la Cour de France, t. 1.

reluctantly consented to your exile from the importunities of the Cardinal, his Majesty has diminished towards you nothing of his accustomed *bienveillance:* he permits you to leave the court, but only for an interval. The King commands you to retire to Moustiers; your pensions and your pay will be remitted to you as usual, the only difference being that his Majesty increases them by one-half, and bids you remember him with affection."* Troisville left the Louvre with tears of regret, ready to perpetrate any deed at the bidding of his master. He quitted Paris, omitting the usual formality of leaving his name at the Palais Cardinal. Mazarin then repaired to St. Germain, and with his sleek tongue, and ready plausibility tried to soothe the King; and to induce him to receive again the two secretaries of state—Chavigny, who was popularly nicknamed "the Cardinal's jackal," and de Noyers.

A greater Master, however, than the one whom he so recklessly braved, demanded from the Cardinal an account of his stewardship. The agitation of his conflict with the King had greatly exhausted his strength. On the 1st of December, the day upon which Troisville left Paris, Richelieu awoke in a shivering fit, and suffering intolerable pain in the right side, and in the chest. The physician bled him, and applied blisters. On the following days, Sunday and Monday, Richelieu was no better:

* Ibid. Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Mém. du Sieur de Pontis.

his respiration was laboured, and his sufferings constant. On Tuesday, mass was said by Lescot, bishop-designate of Chartres, and confessor to his Eminence. Afterwards the Cardinal received the Holy Eucharist, with great outward demonstrations of fervour. On this day also, prayers for his recovery were said in all the churches of the capital. During the afternoon of this same day the sufferings of Richelieu became so intense, that his physicians, believing that he could not survive many hours, recommended that a despatch should be sent to St. Germain to inform Louis of the extremity of his minister, who earnestly desired an interview. The King immediately repaired in somewhat ungracious mood to the Palais Cardinal.* The scene in the sick man's chamber was striking, and impressive. Richelieu, propped up by pillows, and gasping for breath, was supported by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, by his nephew the Marshal de Brézé, and by Chavigny on one side; on the other side of the couch stood Mazarin, and the bishop of Chartres. The room was filled by a throng of courtiers, bishops, and attendants, whose glances were rivited on the agonised face of the sufferer. At a little altar, not very distant from the bed, Séguier, bishop of Meaux, offered intercessory prayers; and read passages from l'Office des Mourants. All retired as King Louis entered, attended by the Marquis de Villequier.

* "Le 2 Décembre après de longues solicitations, Louis alla voir Richelieu," &c.

The fast fleeting strength of Richelieu seemed restored on beholding the King. "Sire," said he, "I now say to you adieu for ever in this world. In taking my leave of your Majesty, I behold your kingdom more puissant than ever, and your enemies vanquished: the only recompense I presume to beseech is your favour and protection for my nephews, and kinsmen. Your Majesty has many learned, and competent personages in your council—retain their assistance." Faintness coming over the sufferer, Louis took a cup from the hand of an attendant, and himself administered a restorative. Richelieu's voice had sunk to a whisper: he afterwards, it was said, recommended Mazarin as his successor.* The King made a general promise to attend to the advice given him; and hurriedly took his leave of the dying man. Afterwards his Majesty addressed a few words to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, who sat apart weeping bitterly. He then leisurely strolled through Richelieu's matchless gallery of pictures, before returning to the Louvre, with an air of heartless unconcern, which occasioned many comments.†

After the departure of the King, Richelieu lay in silence and exhaustion for upwards of an hour. He then called his physicians and asked, how long he was likely to survive? These personages declared that they even then did not despair of his life; as

* The Cardinal had previously communicated with Mazarin, and had promised to recommend him to the King.

† Le Roi ne fut voir le Cardinal qu'un peu avant qu'il mourut, et l'ayant trouvé fort mal, en sortit fort gai.—Tallemant des Réaux.

Providence would doubtless work a miracle on behalf of a personage so indispensable to the realm. A murmur of impatience escaped the lips of the Cardinal; and beckoning to Chicot, physician in ordinary to the King, he said—"Monsieur, I conjure you, as a Christian gentleman, and not regarding your medical capacity, to tell me how long I have to live." "Monseigneur, I believe, that within four-and-twenty hours you will be either cured, or at rest." "I understand: you speak like an honest man;" replied the Cardinal. Addressing his confessor Lescot, he then requested that Extreme Unction might be administered with as little delay as possible. The Cardinal then conversed for a few minutes in a whisper with his niece, Madame d'Aiguillon, and extorted from her a promise, that she would relinquish her resolve to embrace a monastic life.* At midnight, December 3rd, the last Sacraments were administered. The Host was borne to the bedside of the dying man by the Curé de St. Eustache. He rose from his pillow, and with outstretched arms exclaimed, pointing to the Ciborium, in a voice which had suddenly recovered its loud ringing tones—"Behold my Judge and my Saviour! I pray Him to condemn me, if I have not preferred before all things the welfare of religion, and the prosperity of

* Madame d'Aiguillon renouvelait tous les ans le vœu de Carmélite; elle l'a renouvelé sept fois. Le Cardinal fit consulter s'il était obligatoire, on lui repondit que non. "Je vous prie," (said Richelieu on his deathbed) "d'avoir soin de l'éducation des jeunes Pontcourlay, vos neveux, et les miens; retirez vous, ma nièce, je vous prie—vous êtes la personne que j'ai le plus aimée."

this realm! Speak to me, M. le Curé; speak as to a great sinner,—treat me as one of the least of your penitents!" The priests present then recited the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. "Do you, Monseigneur, faithfully believe and hold all these articles of the Christian Faith?" "Without simulation; if I had a thousand lives I would give them for the Faith, and for Holy Church," replied Richelieu. "Monseigneur, do you pardon your enemies? and if it should please God to restore you to health, do you purpose to serve Him with tenfold zeal, tenfold devotion?" "I forgive my enemies, even as I pray for pardon. If God in His Omniscience foresees that hereafter, should my life be granted to me, I might fail in my devotion, may He rather smite me with instant death!" replied the Cardinal; adding feebly, after an interval, "God's will be done! I ask not, I pray not for life. His will be done!" The sacred rites were then administered. "I was smitten with wonder and amaze, at beholding a man raised to the very pinnacle of fortune, show so little regard for life, and depart willingly from so magnificent, and heroic a destiny," writes one of the spectators of the last hours of Richelieu to the ambassador in Rome, M. de Fontenoy Mareuil. "I admired the gravity and sweetness displayed by him who had charmed all hearts, and won all intellectual minds, during the last fleeting moments of life." *

* Lettre sur le Trépas de Monseigneur l'Eminentissime Cardinal de Richelieu à Monseigneur le Marquis de Fontenoy Mareuil, Ambassadeur de sa Majesté à Rome. À Paris, 1650.

The sensation in Paris, meantime, was tremendous —the portals of the Palais Cardinal stood open, and personages of distinction were passing, and repassing every hour during the day and night. While the last Sacraments were being administered, a crowd kept possession of the neighbouring streets, awaiting with anxious interest the reports of the messengers hourly dispatched to the Louvre.* Within the palace, the vast apartments were thronged—even the bedchamber of the dying man was thrown open, for the convenience of the more eminent amongst the courtiers, who desired to gaze upon the last mortal agonies of the great minister. The following morning, being December 4th, a slight improvement in the Cardinal's condition was reported. He again engaged in prayer; bade farewell to Chavigny; and thanked his physicians for their care. As the morning advanced, however, it was evident that Richelieu was fast passing away. At eleven o'clock he fainted, but recovered again: and about mid-day he expired, apparently without much suffering. After recovering from his sudden faint, Richelieu, though speechless, continued in possession of his other faculties up to the last moment.† Solemn silence fell on the assemblage present, after the great master-spirit of the age had passed from earth. Madame d'Aiguillon then

* The King remained at the Louvre; the Queen was at St. Germain.

† Lettre sur le Trépas de l'Eminentissime Cardinal de Richelieu. Galerie des Personnages Illustres, &c., t. 4. Mém. de Pontis, Tallemant, Bassompierre, Motteville; numbers of detached pamphlets, Le Vassor, Leti, Siri, and MSS. authorities, Bibl. Imp. Beth.: Colbert, &c.

tenderly kissed the lifeless lips, and was led to the door of the apartment by the Duc de Brézé.

The friends of Richelieu then slowly approached to gaze on the corpse. MM. de Guiche and De Brézé advanced first; they were followed by Mazarin, and by Chavigny, who both wept bitterly. An hour thus elapsed, when by command of the Duc de Brézé, nephew of the deceased Cardinal, the folding doors of the chamber were closed, to enable the attendants to perform the last sad offices.

Information of the death of the Cardinal de Richelieu was conveyed to the King, by de Noyers. Louis was sitting alone in his dreary chamber overlooking the Seine. He heard the tidings in silence, but a pallor overspread his cheek. At length his Majesty observed, while waving his hand in sign of dismissal to de Noyers,—"*Voilà un grand politique mort!*" *

A post-mortem examination of the Cardinal's remains was made immediately after his death. His lungs were extensively diseased; and the immediate cause of death was found to be the breaking of an abscess on the left lobe of the lungs. The body was embalmed, and lay in state for five days. The funeral obsequies were celebrated with little pomp in the church of the Sorbonne; where the

* Mém. du Sieur du Pontis, who stood in the guard-chamber adjoining the King's apartment during the visit of de Noyers. "Après," relates de Pontis, "les Maréchaux de la Meilleraye et de Brézé s'avisa de se jetter aux pieds du Roi, et lui demander sa protection; le Roi les embrassa et leur dit, qu'il les aimeroit toujours pourvu qu'ils le servissent fidèlement."

body of the great Cardinal was deposited in the magnificent mausoleum which he had caused to be constructed before the high altar of that church.

By his last will and testament, Richelieu confirmed to the King his previous donations of the Palais Cardinal; of his superb golden altar vessels; and of his largest diamond. He moreover bequeathed to the King, tapestry hangings for eight spacious chambers, and three state beds, which were to be selected by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. To Armand de Maillé,* Duc de Brézé, his nephew and god-son, he bequeathed the duchy of Fronsac, the Duchy of Beaufort, and other lands and manors, together with a sum of several millions of livres. To his niece the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, he bequeathed the Hôtel du Petit Luxembourg, and his château de Ruel, with an immense revenue, the whole to revert on her death to the Duc de Richelieu. The duchess also inherited her uncle's jewels; and his celebrated service of gold plate. The eldest son of his brother-in-law, the Marquis de Pontcourlay, was the Cardinal's principal heir.† To him the duchy of Richelieu was bequeathed, the ancient barony of Barbezièux, the principality of Mortagne, the counties of Cosnac and Saugeon, and the rich

* Armand de Maillé Brézé, Duc de Fronsac, born 1619, died 1648, son of Urbain de Maillé, Marquis de Brézé, and of Nicole du Plessis, second sister of the Cardinal, who died 1635, insane.

† François de Vignerot, son of René de Vignerot Seigneur de Pontcourlay, and of Françoise du Plessis de Richelieu, eldest sister of the Cardinal. Madame d'Aiguillon was the sister of François de Vignerot, who succeeded, on the death of his uncle, to the dukedom of Richelieu, &c.

manors of la Ferté, Bernard, Brouage, and d'Hiers, besides a sum of more than three millions sterling. All the furniture of the Palais Cardinal—excepting that bequeathed to King Louis—the splendid galleries of paintings and sculpture; the collections of china; the cabinet of gems, and enamels, and Venetian glass, were left to the future Duc de Richelieu, to furnish the Hôtel de Richelieu. His library was bequeathed by the Cardinal to the nation, under the perpetual guardianship of the members of the Collège de Sorbonne, from amongst whom the librarians were always to be chosen. The amount bequeathed by Richelieu in legacies to his friends and servants alone, exceeded the sum of two millions of francs.*

* Testament du Cardinal de Richelieu.—Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, Leclerc, Richard, and Le Père Griffet.—Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII.

CHAPTER IV.

1643.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA A WIDOW.

Louis XIII. survived his minister only five months and ten days. The bent figure, the emaciated features, and the feeble voice of the King when he appeared in public for the first time after the decease of Richelieu, inspired his loving subjects with painful apprehensions. The deceased Cardinal, and his royal master had mutually worn each other out, by the bitter irritation of their dissensions. Remorse likewise was said to oppress the King for the death of Montmorency; and his sleep was broken by wailing regrets for his lost favourite, Cinq-Mars. Louis confirmed all the testamentary bequests of the Cardinal; and the court went into mourning for a fortnight. The Queen now made her abode entirely at St. Germain: there is no record of her sentiments on the death of the Cardinal, except that she was much moved by the recital of "the pious end" made by Richelieu. Madame de Motteville says, "*qu'elle n'était pas fort affligée;*" but rather absorbed by the novelty of her position in the realm, as mother of

two beautiful sons, and the wife of a King whose health was evidently on the decline. Mazarin was now constant in his homage to Anne of Austria. Chavigny declared himself her ardent partisan, and ready to defend her against the atrocious imputations of M. d'Orléans, who avowed his opinion in public, at several places in Auvergne and the Orléannois, that Monsieur le Dauphin and his brother were illegitimate; and stated, that it was his intention to fight for the succession to the crown. Anne experienced no gentler treatment from the King her husband, "who knew her too well to be deluded by her soft speeches, and syren charms." * The Queen, doubtless, found consolation in the brilliant future unfolding before her: she drew nearer every day to the possession of power as Regent of France during a long minority, and Mazarin now hoped to win special graces from her notice. The King, though ill and depressed, attended daily to affairs, and declared that he would not be teased by a prime-minister. He opened all despatches himself; granted pardons; permitted the return of the exiles; and did everything in his power to convince his people that the late rigorous, and despotic administration had been against his will, and contrary to his disposition. The King had immediately recalled his favourite Troisville, and

* "Le roi fit hier assez mauvaise chère à la reine. Il est toujours fort animé contre elle, et en parle à tous moments."—Archives des Affaires Etrangères, France, t. 102.—Cousin, Vie de Madame Chevreuse.

reinstated him in his command, which he exercised on the occasion of the Cardinal's funeral. He also released the Marshal de Bassompierre from the Bastille; where that once gay, and gallant cavalier had languished ever since the arrest of the Queen-mother at Compiègne, solely because he was a warm admirer of Marie de' Medici; and that he had advised the imprisonment of Richelieu at the secret council summoned by the Queen-mother at Lyons, when the life of the King had been in danger.* The Marshal de Vitry, the slayer of the Marquis d'Ancre, also obtained release from the Bastille. The Cardinal had thought that so devoted a servant to his King, and a hand so dexterous in the use of a pistol, was better under the safe custody of his faithful de Tremblay, than at large. The Count de Cramail† was likewise released; also M. Vaultier, the physician of the late unfortunate Queen-mother. The political exiles, moreover, eagerly sought the clemency of the King. The Dues d'Elbœuf, de Vendôme, de Bellegarde, de Guise, returned home: swarms of minor personages flocked back again to France. No one seems to have appealed in vain to the mercy of the King, excepting the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and Madame de Fargis. Madame de la Flotte was also reinstated; but Mesdames de Senécé,

* Bassompierre did not long survive his liberation. He died suddenly, in the night of October 12th, 1646, at Provins, and was found dead in his bed.

† The Count de Cramail had been imprisoned for his correspondence with Madame de Fargis.

de Hautefort and de Chémérault, holding that their recall to court ought to have been a spontaneous act of clemency, declined to petition. Madame de Chevreuse received a harsh and decided refusal; indeed, the mind of the King appeared so exasperated against her, that no one presumed to mention her name.

During the first few days of his independence Louis appeared almost childishly elate with his achievements in the transaction of affairs. Afterwards, his Majesty seemed to move like a man in a dream, during the discharge of the many royal functions which he had suffered to devolve upon Richelieu. M. de Noyers appeared at first likely to monopolise the royal favour, to the astonishment and annoyance of Chavigny, and Mazarin. Previous to the death of Richelieu he had seemed to be particularly obnoxious to the King, who often, was so irritated, as to make disobliging sallies on his repulsive features, and fussy manners. The influence of de Noyers, during these first days of emancipation, had a twofold source—he was a man of strong, patient endurance, and equable nerves; and having far less self-appreciation than Chavigny or Mazarin, suffered the King to vaunt his own powers of decision, and penetration. When Louis retreated into his melancholy retirement when the labour of the day was over, de Noyers followed his Majesty, and helped him to carve and fit together the little wooden shrines for the reception of relics,

which it was the King's pastime to fashion. Louis also diverted his mind by playing on the guitar; he likewise composed an air, to set to the words of the flippant song written by M. Miron, in ironical homage of the deceased Cardinal, and beginning with the line—

"Ah! il a passé, il a plié bagage, M. le Cardinal!"

De Noyers also used his brief influence to ruin Father Sirmond, confessor to the King. Sirmond had insisted on the arrest, and execution of M. de Cinq-Mars. The King never forgave his counsels, nor his importunity; and subsequently, the royal confessions became so meagre, and Sirmond's opportunities for admonition so brief, that he found himself obliged to advise with Richelieu on the matter. Louis, therefore, gladly sent the reverend father a *lettre de cachet*, dispensing with his future services. Le Père Dinet, another Jesuit, succeeded to the vacant office, in which, however, he was scarcely installed when the death of the King occurred.

The King's health, meantime, continued gradually to decline; and his failing strength, which during the month of March compelled him frequently to keep his bed, reassured M. de Chavigny, who aspired to the post of first minister. Many matters had to be discussed which were quite out of the political depth of M. de Noyers. Louis, feeling that his life could not be much longer prolonged, decided to settle the important question, of how the govern-

ment of the country should be conducted during the minority of the future King. Chavigny having possessed the entire confidence of the late Cardinal, the King commanded his presence at St. Germain. The nomination of a regent occasioned a bitter struggle in Louis's mind. If Monsieur had been loyal, and on good terms with his brother, there can be no doubt that the high office would have been assigned to him. A prince, however, who had three times rendered himself amenable to the penalties of treason, and who, moreover, denied the legitimacy of the Dauphin, could not be safely trusted with supreme power during the minority. Condé, next in succession after Monsieur, was a prince of feeble health, advanced in years, and of a character so peculiar as totally to unfit him for the office; besides, Louis knew his wife well enough to feel sure that she would form a coalition with Monsieur, for the restoration of their legitimate authority, rather than submit to such an arrangement. Ancient precedent, public opinion, and the aspirations of the feudal nobles of the realm—who all had been under the ban of Richelieu, and for the most part exiles from the splendour of the court during the reign of Louis—demanded that Queen Anne might be declared regent of the realm during the minority of her son. The Queen had beauty, fascinating manners, the support of Spain, the *prestige* of her position as Queen-mother, and last, though not least, she had won the devotion of

Mazarin. By many contemporaries it is believed that Richelieu, appreciating the rare gifts of Mazarin, had specially commended the Queen to his care; and had besought her Majesty to place herself unreservedly under his guidance. Anne, moreover, in the presence of the King, had ventured to assert her right to wield the sceptre in the name of her son. Louis therefore, understood the entreaties of Chavigny, who besought him "to make so wise, and prudent a disposition of the royal power, that on his decease the kingdom might not be plunged into a bloody war, either by the insinuations of Monsieur respecting the birth of the future King; or by the feuds of rival claimants for power." Mazarin, in a few days, was summoned to St. Germain, and it was at length resolved to take some decided step to stifle the pretensions of Monsieur. The project of the deceased Cardinal was revived; and an edict was prepared, in which Louis solemnly declared that the Duke of Orleans had forfeited all claim to the regency, in the event of a minority. Mademoiselle, the young and spirited daughter of Monsieur, hearing of the decree, proposed to throw herself at the feet of the King as he entered the Chamber, to implore its abrogation. This intention coming to the ears of Louis, he sternly forbad such intercession. In January, 1643, the Declaration against Monsieur received the sanction of the Chambers, on the express, and personal demand of the King, who repaired to the Palais in person to present the

edict to his faithful commons.* Monsieur made no public protest against his exclusion from the regency; but clamoured to be permitted to throw himself at the feet of the King, whose devoted servant he should ever remain, being now delivered from the thraldom of the hated Richelieu. The Abbé de la Rivière arrived in Paris, to negotiate his master's return; the duke made no stipulations, but submitted entirely to the good pleasure of the King. The failing condition of the King's health was so well known that no one now opposed the royal will; the sceptre was passing from the hand of Louis—it was for his successor to maintain, or to annul any edict given during these, his last hours.

The council, meantime, assembled to settle the vexed question of the regency—a matter which admitted of no delay, for the health of the King, from the beginning of April, 1643, began to fail alarmingly, and his Majesty was able only to leave his bed-chamber during a few hours of the afternoon. At length it was determined to name the Queen as Regent, and the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-Governor of the realm, during the minority. Mazarin addressed the council at length, and his observations appeared greatly to impress the King. Louis, however, could not be persuaded to grant to the Queen unlimited authority as Regent; and the restrictions with which he fettered her authority would have reduced her power to a mere cipher. "You do not

* Mém. de Mademoiselle, t. 1.

know the Queen! You deprecate the evils which arose during the regency of the late Queen, Marie de' Medici, our revered mother; would you, therefore, behold this realm reduced to worse straits? The Queen needs the guidance, and control of a council!"* No remonstrances could divert Louis from his resolution; or restrain him from exacting the most stringent, and binding pledges from all the great functionaries of the realm to maintain his decree intact. The edict commences with a long and wordy preamble, setting forth the benefits which had accrued to the nation during the reign of the King; and stating the love, and devotion felt by Louis for his people, and the realm. The Queen is then named in the next clause, "as Regent of France," and intrusted with the education of her children, and with the administration of the realm, during the minority of the young King. "We have good hope, and trust that the virtue and piety of the Queen, our beloved wife and consort, will render her administration prosperous. Nevertheless, the office of Regent is a trust of great weight, upon the due discharge of which depends the welfare and glory of the kingdom; and as it is impossible that the Queen can have the requisite knowledge to conduct the course of great and important events, which is acquired only by long experience, we have thought good to name a Council of Regency, by the advice of which, and under her Majesty's authority, state affairs shall be resolved by

* De Réaux, t. 3, p. 80.

a plurality of votes. We cannot make a more worthy choice of persons, therefore, to compose this Council, than to nominate our very dear and beloved cousins the Prince de Condé, the Cardinal de Mazarin, our very dear, and trusty the Sieur Séguier, Chancellor of France, Lord Keeper, and a Knight of our Order, and our very dear, and faithful Bouteillier, secretary of finance, and de Chavigny, secretary of state. We will, and command, that our very dear brother the Duke of Orleans, shall be President of the Council of Regency; and in his absence, the Prince of Condé; or in default of the said Condé, the Cardinal Mazarin. It being our belief that we cannot make a more competent choice of ministers, we forbid this Council to be changed, diminished, or increased for any cause or pretence, excepting by the death of, or by the treason of, any of the above-mentioned high personages; in that case, the place may be filled as the Lady Regent shall decree, by and with the advice of the said Council. We declare, that it is our will that all affairs relating to peace or to war, and other matters important to the realm, even to the voting and disposal of the finances, shall be laid before the Council, and decided by a majority of votes; also, that in the event of the great offices of the crown becoming vacant — those of superintendent of finance, first president, and attorney-general in our Court of Parliament, that of secretary of state, secretary at war, governors of our frontiers and their fortresses—they shall be bestowed by the said Lady Regent, with

and by the consent and advice of the said Council; neither shall it be considered valid or legal, if the said Lady Regent shall give such charges and offices without the sanction of her Council. All other and minor offices of the government are to be bestowed after such participation, and sanction of the Council. As for the gift of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices generally, appertaining to the crown, they shall be bestowed only on godly and eminent personages, who have been at the least three years in holy orders: we desire and decree that the said Lady and Regent, mother of our children, shall follow the example which we have set, in the bestowal of these dignities; and that she shall confer them by the advice only, of our cousin the Cardinal de Mazarin, to whom we have expressed our earnest desire that God may be honoured by this our nomination. The said Cardinal has given us so many proofs of fidelity, and intellect, in the management of divers important matters within, and without our realm, that we believe, after ourselves, we cannot confide the execution of this the most important of our functions, to any personage who will more worthily, and conscientiously acquit himself thereof."*

Such was the paragraph of the royal decree concerning Queen Anne, and her functions as Regent of France. Power could not have been more limited,

* Déclaration du Roi vérifiée en Parlement le 21 Avril, 1643.—Registres du Parlement de Paris.

fettered, or reduced to mere outward show. The Queen could not confer the smallest office in the realm, or in the King's state household, without the previous consent and approval, of the Council of Regency. She might decide neither on affairs connected with war; nor assent to a pacification without the Council. She had no power over the revenue; nor could she assign the smallest pecuniary gratification, independent of the Council. She could not compel the registration of any edict; nominate the officers of the Royal Guard; or visit offenders with loss of preferment, or degradation, without the intervention of the Council. In ecclesiastical affairs she was made subservient to Mazarin; who was to wield, almost independently of the Queen, the vast powers and resources of the Gallican Church. The Queen might only appoint, without previous appeal, the officers of her own household, and those connected with the nursery establishment of the young King and his brother; or, as his Majesty advanced in years, those subordinate posts in the palace, not already attached in the special gift of some higher officer of the crown.

The paragraph of the celebrated edict relating to the Duke of Orleans, was drawn in the following language: "To testify to our very dear brother the Duke of Orleans, that nothing has been capable of alienating our affection, we will, and decree that he shall be Lieutenant-General of the young King in all the provinces of the realm, to exercise such

authority under the Queen Regent and her Council; and this, notwithstanding the Declaration registered by our Court of Parliament, which declares the said duke incapable of holding chief office in the administration of our realm. We trust, and rely upon his honour, that he will pay implicit obedience to our will; and that he will from henceforth serve the realm, and our children, with the fidelity and loving kindness which his birth, and the many bounties and graces which we have conferred, exact. Nevertheless, we declare that, in case our said dear brother objects, or rebels against the ordinances contained in this our present Declaration, we will that he be held deprived of the office of Lieutenant-General; and we expressly forbid all, or any of our subjects to recognise him, or to obey him in such capacity."* Monsieur, therefore, received a very guarded bequest of power, and was to be controlled in the exercise of his high military powers by the decrees of the Council; which, in reality, meant the united will of Condé, and of Mazarin—as these personages were certain to exercise despotic authority over their colleagues, and to command at will a majority of votes.

Nor was the humiliation of the Queen yet sufficiently palpable, and her power as Regent neutralised. A subsequent clause decreed the following against Madame la Duchesse de Chevreuse; who was supposed by the King, as by the greater part

* Déclaration du Roi, etc.—Registres du Parlement de Paris.

of the courtiers, to be her Majesty's bosom friend. "It being our royal will, and duty, to prevent troubles, and to forestal the evil designs of such of our subjects who might desire to subvert these our arrangements, made for the welfare and prosperity of our kingdom, we, having perfect knowledge of the bad conduct of the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and of the artifices which she has employed to create divisions in the realm; also being aware of the factious, and treasonable intelligences which she still entertains with our enemies, we hereby interdict her return to the realm, during the continuance of warfare. We will, moreover, that when peace shall be ratified, the said duchess* shall return only by permission of the Queen Regent, given with the sanction of the Council. If such permission be conceded, we decree that the royal grace shall be vouchsafed on condition only that the said duchess never approaches the court, nor the person of the said Queen and Regent." The same ban likewise was enforced respecting the unfortunate ex-Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, who was not to receive alleviation of his captivity during the prevalence of war: and afterwards, if the Queen and Council were inclined to exercise clemency in his behalf, he was never to appear again at Court.

The edict being decided upon, and drawn up with suitable explicitness, Mazarin advised, that its terms

* Louis XIII. commonly alluded to Madame de Chevreuse as "Le Diable."

should be first privately communicated to several leading members of the Parliament of Paris, and to the other personages concerned in its decrees, offering to be himself the medium of such communication. The decree met with a favourable reception from the Parliament; and it was evident would be immediately passed and registered, on its formal presentation to the Chamber. Monsieur made no objection—indeed, his name appearing at all in the edict of regency might be considered an act of signal grace and forbearance, which he owed only to Mazarin. Many uneasy doubts were expressed, however, on the reception likely to be given to the document by the Queen—the personage most concerned and aggrieved by its arbitrary enactments. Cardinal Mazarin, however, undertook to present the act to her Majesty, and to explain and persuade her into acquiescence. Unless Anne could be induced to take oath to observe the King's will, the decree would become null and void. The regency descended to her by right, and by precedent; she had possession of the person of the young King and his brother; she commanded the allegiance of that formidable party in the realm—the foes and opponents of Richelieu's policy of repression, who were all ready to hail the Regent, in the hope of speedy restoration to the feudal strongholds, and provincial commands, which, in preceding reigns, had enabled them to defy the power of the crown. Mazarin accordingly sought audience of the Queen; and his

persuasive tongue secured her outward submission to the will of the King. There may have been considerations of high prudence on the part of Anne, in not provoking a contest, of which posterity is not cognizant—considerations, if a particle of truth is to be sifted from the pamphlets, private letters, and writings of the day, potent enough not only to strip Anne of Austria of her most ambitious pretensions, but which might have precipitated her from the elevation of the throne, into the everlasting gloom, and seclusion of a cloister. If the Duke of Orleans, the son of Henri Quatre, had been on terms with the King his brother, and if he had been a man of honour, truth, valour, and capacity, the last weeks of the unhappy reign of Louis XIII. might have transmitted a startling record on the page of history. Prudence, therefore, being the better part of valour, Anne agreed to make submissive acceptance of the terms proposed to her. There is little doubt, however, that Mazarin and the Queen then concerted together the design which they subsequently brought to so successful an issue.* Time was precious; and the day following, therefore, Anne entered the council chamber, to take the required

* Anne, however, showed outward discontent at the "officious proceedings of M. de Mazarin," and said, "Que tout son ennemi que fût Richelieu, il n'aurait pas pu lui faire plus de mal que M. de Mazarin, qu'elle accusait d'avoir déterminé le roi à ces mesures." Her Majesty feigned to applaud the conduct of M. de Noyers, who, finding that his presence at court would no longer be tolerated by Chavigny and Mazarin, retired to his country house, under pretext of displeasure at the "Act to restrain the powers of the future Queen-Regent."

oath of adhesion to the articles of the edict concerning her future regency; and to affix her signature to the document. The Duke of Orleans had likewise been summoned to St. Germain for the same purpose. Did the memory of Anne of Austria then transport her back to her previous summons before the council, when, guilty and trembling she confronted the King, and his stern minister, and felt that the *prestige* only of her birth had prevented her from being banished from France, in disgrace and ignominy? She stood now before the same monarch, in the ripe maturity of her charms, still a Queen, the mother of two hopeful sons, the future Regent of the realm, proud, unconquered by past perils and vicissitudes; her great enemy first vanquished, and then removed by death, and awaiting the commands of a husband who hated, but who still tolerated her, and whose sceptre was about to pass from his dying hand into her own! Anne felt her triumph. Fate had hitherto been adverse, but she seemed to have conquered destiny. The Queen took the pen humbly presented by Mazarin, affixed her signature, and took oath for the faithful observance of articles, which she had deliberately resolved to do her utmost, in concert with Mazarin, to annul, so soon as life had left the King. M. d'Orléans then went through the same formality—sincerely on his part, as the provisions of the edict gave him an authority which for the time satisfied his ambition. When the act had received due authentication, and the signatures "Louis,"

"Anne," "Gaston," stood below, with the words added, written by the King's own hand—"*Ce que dessus est ma très expresse et dernière volanté, que veux être executée*"—Anne arose, and kneeling at the King's footstool, expressed her thanks, and devotion. Louis coldly withdrew his hand, which the Queen had clasped; and, rising, turned away without uttering a syllable in reply.* The act was then countersigned by the three secretaries of state, and subsequently presented to the Chambers, and passed unanimously.

Louis never more presided at the council-board. The greater part of the day he spent reclining in his *chaise à la Romaine*, which was placed at the window of the Cabinet de la Reine, in the Château Neuf de St. Germain; and from which an enchanting view was obtained of the surrounding landscape, with the towers of St. Denis in the distance. The King's observations were of the most depressing kind, and sometimes very embarrassing to his attendants. "Ah!" said his Majesty one day to Troisville, pointing towards the abbey, "there I shall soon repose—a long repose. My poor body I fear will be roughly shaken going thither—the roads are in bad condition."† Another day the eyes of the

* Tallemant, t. 3. Griffet, Règne de Louis XIII.

† Another day, calling his faithful Du Pontis to the side of his chair, Louis raised his sleeve and showed his arm, exclaiming, "Tiens, Pontis, regarde ce bras. Voilà quels sont les bras du roi de France." "Je vis en effet," relates Pontis, "mais avec un angoisse, et un serrement de cœur que je ne puis exprimer, que c'était comme un squelette, qui avait

King gloomily surveyed the train of nobles which followed the Queen one afternoon from the old château, from which her Majesty, by the express desire of her consort, had not removed. "These people come here to see whether I am quickly dying, especially M. de Beaufort.* Ha! if only I could recover, I would make them all pay dearly for their wish to see me dead!" It is a remarkable circumstance that the name of Mazarin occurs only once in the minute narrative which we possess of the last lingering six weeks of the King's life—a time, when death to the weary aching heart, and limbs, would have been a priceless boon. Mazarin even, was absent from the death-chamber of the King, though *de facto* prime minister of France, and Cardinal nuncio. Once and once only he appeared in the halls of St. Germain at this crisis; and that was, at the summons of Anne of Austria, to represent the Pope as godfather to the Dauphin. The last day upon which Louis was able to resort to any of his favourite occupations, was on the 1st of April, 1643. His Majesty, on that day, spent several hours in colouring caricatures. From that period to the 19th day of the same month, he was carried from his bed to his couch for a few hours daily. On Sunday morning, April 20th, the King

la peau collée sur les os, et qui était tout couvert de grandes taches blanches."—Mém. du Sieur du Pontis.

* The party of the Queen bore the sobriquet of "Importants." M. de Beaufort was recognised as their chief.

said, on waking, to his first *valet de chambre*, "I do not feel very ill, but my strength declines. I prayed to God during the night to shorten my sufferings. I cannot rise. M. Bouvard," continued Louis, addressing one of his physicians, whose turn it had been to watch during the night, "M. Bouvard, I have never had heart concerning my malady. I have requested that you will admonish me when my end approaches. I am dying, I know well." On the same afternoon Louis was lifted from his bed for the last time into his easy chair, by the direction of Chicot, first physician in ordinary. The King fainted; but was wheeled to his favourite window, where M. Chicot read to him, as he could bear it, passages from "La Vie des Saints," and the 17th chapter of the Gospel of St. John.

The mind of the King seems to have been much agitated at intervals by painful reminiscences of some of the events of his reign; and he was heard to deplore, as a grave dereliction of his duty to his people, that he had suffered the royal prerogative to be exercised so entirely by the remorseless hand of Richelieu. To the Prince de Condé he one day expressed bitter regret that he had assented to the death of the brave and gallant Montmorency, whose ancestors had been the loyal upholders of the crown. The King acknowledged that he had been compelled to journey to Toulouse, but had always intended to grant life to M. de Montmorency: he had, however, finally suffered himself to be over-persuaded by alleged

reasons of state. "Remorse has always haunted me, Monseigneur, for this deed. Ah! it is the unhappy lot of rulers to hear nothing but adverse statements against their nearest, and dearest friends, relatives, and subjects, and to be compelled to act upon political considerations. Happy is the sovereign who has strength to resist such insinuations!" The death of M. de Cinq Mars was a subject so agitating to the unhappy King, that any allusion to it was cautiously avoided.

On the 21st of April, Louis assembled the principal personages of the court around his bed for the last time. His object was to proclaim the Queen as future Regent of France; but bound by the limitations imposed by the patent of Regency, which had now passed the Chamber. Louis neglected no means to impress his will in this respect on the nation; and to make solemn declaration of such, in the most public, and formal manner possible. "The King performed this action with an air of composure and satisfaction," relates Dubois, a *valet de chambre* in the royal service, to whom posterity is indebted for the most graphic, and minute details extant, of the last days of Louis XIII.* "The Queen was present, also M. le Prince de Condé, M. le Duc d'Orléans, and all the greatest lords of the court; MM. the ministers were likewise present. The King ordered the cur-

* Mémoire fidèle des choses qui se 'sont passées à la mort de Louis XIII., Roy de France et de Navarre. Fait par Dubois, l'un des valets de chambre de sa Majesté, le 14 Mai, 1643.—Curiosités Historiques, Amsterdam, 1759, in 8vo. Also Archives Curieuses, t. 5.

tains of his bed to be drawn aside; he then spoke in a low voice to the Queen, to M. his brother, and to M. le Prince. His Majesty then raising his voice, addressed the assemblage; he next commanded M. de la Vrillière, secretary of state, to read aloud the edict of the Queen's future regency, in order that everybody should hear, and note his royal will. M. de la Vrillière, much moved by a command which seemed to indicate his Majesty's approaching dissolution, read the edict, standing at the foot of the King's bed, tears falling from his eyes as he proceeded. The Queen also sat at the foot of the King's bed in an arm-chair, which I had the honour to bring to her Majesty. She also melted into tears; everybody present then began to weep. The reading of the edict over, the King spoke to the Queen,* to M. his brother, to M. le Prince, and then to the deputies sent by the Chamber, to whom he made many moving observations. The King looked better; his face was flushed with vivid colour, and he appeared calm, and in no apprehension of death. When the assemblage dispersed, he conferred for some time with M. de Meaux, his almoner, and with his confessor. In the evening, some pages of the 'Vie des Saints' were read aloud to his Majesty."† Probably

* Leti states (Teatro Gallico), without citing any authority, that the words of the King were, "In nome del Signore cara moglie, é cara fratello, siate ben unite insieme nel governo del Regno e del Delfino mio successore, come del mio fanciulletto, il principe Filippo."

† Mém. de Dubois des choses qui se sont passées à la mort de Louis XIII.—Curiosités Historiques.

it was after this formal, and affecting recognition of herself and her children, that Anne sent Chavigny to Louis with a message, "assuring the King that she had not been the guilty accomplice of M. le Prince de Chalais, but had always been his Majesty's faithful and devoted consort, and now very humbly besought his pardon for any misdeed she had unknowingly committed." "M. de Chavigny," replied the King, "in the condition in which I now am, it is my duty to forgive the Queen, but I am not bound to believe her statements. Carry my answer to her Majesty."* Louis, therefore, went down to the tomb firmly persuaded that he had received deep, and vital injury from the Queen, his consort.

On the following day, April 22nd, the public ceremony of the baptism of the Dauphin was performed in the chapel of the old palace of St. Germain by the special command of the dying King. The child, at his birth, had been privately baptised in the Queen's chamber; it having been resolved to defer the public ceremonial until the conclusion of the war. Time was speeding, and it was requisite that the child, who would ere long bear the appellation of Most Christian, should be publicly received into the bosom of Holy Church. At five o'clock on the evening of Wednesday, April 22, the court assembled in the great saloon of the old palace. Mazarin, Chavigny, the Bishops of Beauvais, and Meaux, and other

* Mém. du Duc de la Rochefoucault, Petitot, vol. 51. The duke was always a devoted adherent of the Queen.

eminent and favoured persons were present. Queen Anne entered the presence chamber, leading her son by the hand, who wore a robe, or overcoat of cloth of silver.* The procession then formed for the chapel thus—the young Dauphin walked, preceded by gentlemen of the chamber, and followed by his *gouvernante* Madame de Lansac; the Queen came next, attended by the Princesse de Condé, the Countess de Soissons, and by the young, and lovely bride Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville. Mazarin followed, marching alone, as the representative of his Holiness Urban VIII., godfather to the Dauphin. Most chroniclers, however, erroneously assert that the Cardinal was himself the sponsor; and that Louis, to secure his loyal devotion to the future child-king, by a stroke of policy had so honoured him. On approaching the altar Anne was received by Séguier, Bishop of Meaux, and by six other mitred prelates. The Queen knelt at her *prie-dieu*, and the little Dauphin fell on his knees on the same cushion. The Bishop of Meaux, at the conclusion of the anthem—which was "a motett of ravishing harmony"—approached her Majesty. Anne rose, and presented her son. Madame de Lansac then lifted the little Dauphin on to the desk of the Queen's *prie-dieu*, upon which a rich cushion had been placed. The Cardinal de

* Queen Anne wore a superb robe of blue velvet, embossed with golden fleurs-de-lis. On her head was a diamond tiara, with a long veil of silver tissue attached.

Mazarin then took his place at the right of the child, and Madame de Condé as godmother, on the left, the Queen holding her Dauphin from behind by his robe, to prevent him from falling. "M. le Dauphin looked as beautiful and as innocent as an angel, kneeling with folded hands, holding his eyes wide open, but showing a bashfulness and modesty surprising for a child of his tender years." Madame de Condé, on being asked by the officiating prelate the appellation of Monseigneur, named him Louis. At the ceremony of the anointing, the Queen opened the vest of the Dauphin, and declined the services of Madame de Lansac. When Séguier asked, "*Ludovici abrenuncias Sathanæ, pompis et operibus suis?*" the child answered, without being prompted by his mother, "*Abrenuncio.*" To the three interrogatories respecting his faith in the Divine revelation and mysteries, he replied, "*Credo.*" The ceremony concluded by the choir intoning "Regina Cœli;" the procession then formed, and returned to the palace.* Dubois says—"M. le Dauphin was christened in the old chapel of the palace at St. Germain: all passed in the presence of the Queen, without much pomp, on account of the illness of the King. I had a great desire to see this ceremony, and on my return to the King's chamber, his Majesty asked me what had passed, and I had the honour of relating to him all I had seen. The Queen, M. le Cardinal,

* Godefroy: Grand Cérém. de France, Baptême de Monseigneur le Dauphin, à present Louis XIV., t. 2.

and the court arrived soon afterwards, and entertained the King with an account of the good behaviour of M. le Dauphin." Dubois then adds a note at the foot of his page, denying a story current in his day, to whit, "that M. le Dauphin being near the bed of the King, his Majesty asked him his name. 'Louis XIV.,' promptly replied the young Prince; to which the King is said to have replied, '*Pas encore, mon fils; pas encore!*'"

On the 24th a great panic convulsed the court: the unhappy King was reported to be sinking fast. Dubois again chronicles the events of that exciting day. "Everybody looked in despair: M. de Souvré commanded me to send and tell the Queen that she must come immediately, and bring her children to receive the dying benediction of the King. He afterwards ordered me to be in waiting to receive her Majesty, and to ask her to enter the King's chamber by the small closet. The day was bitterly cold and boisterous. The Queen arrived; I addressed myself to Madame de la Flotte, and gave her the message from M. de Souvré. She was about to repeat my words to the Queen, when her Majesty interposed, saying, 'I heard!' The crowd round the portal of the palace was prodigious, and the confusion great. A lord present therefore took M. le Dauphin, and another M. d'Anjou, and went through the crowd, leaving the Queen alone in her coach, with Madame de la Flotte. Her Majesty called out, 'Is there no personage present to help me? Am I to

be left thus?' Hearing her Majesty call, and not daring to offer my own services, I plunged amongst the courtiers, and finding M. le Duc d'Uzés, one of the gentlemen of the Queen's household, brought him to the coach, who handed her Majesty into the palace.

The Queen went straight to the King's bed, and throwing herself on her knees by the pillow, weeping, talked to the King for some time in private, everyone observing that the manner of his Majesty seemed affectionate. Madame la Duchesse de Vendôme, meantime, had got M. d'Anjou in her arms, who was crying desperately because his nurse had been left behind. The duchess called me, and asked me to pacify the young Prince as well as I could. I carried him therefore into the King's closet, and making him sit on the table, I told him that the King had a little gold horse, and that he meant to give it to Monseigneur le Dauphin, and another to himself if he behaved better than his brother. By this stratagem he ceased to cry, and I took him to Madame de Folaine, his nurse, who had been lost outside in the throng." Louis presently gave his benediction to his kneeling wife, and children. The room was then immediately cleared, as the King was exhausted by the tumult, and for want of air. "*Ah, Messieurs, donnez moi la vie,*" gasped the poor King, making signs for the eager crowd to retreat from the chamber, and pointing to the closely shut windows. The end, however, was not yet—the King

rallied again, if such words can be applied to the lethargic stupor into which he sank.

On the 8th of May, Queen Anne left the old Château of St. Germain to occupy a room separated only by a small octagon chamber from the King's apartment. The public conduct of Anne of Austria at this crisis of her life had been blameless: no devoted wife could have been more punctual in her visits to the sick chamber; and it was known that she held herself ready at any hour of the day or night to flit between the two châteaux, if her presence should be deemed desirable or necessary. Anne never left the palace but to visit the King; she granted audiences only to Mazarin and Chavigny, and the Bishop of Beauvais; she held no communication with her exiled friends—not even with Madame de Hautefort. The latter, anxious to be with the Queen on the very day of her proclamation as Regent, had, without any communication with Anne, ventured up in disguise to Paris, accompanied by her Majesty's devoted servant, La Porte. Madame de Hautefort expected on her arrival in the capital to be greeted with the welcome news of the death of the King; instead of which she found the Parisians speculating on the recovery of their liege, as a more favourable bulletin from St. Germain had been that morning posted on the gateway of the Louvre. The pair had travelled to Paris exulting in their future favour, when Anne found herself omnipotent; for how could her Majesty, they argued,

testify in too marked a manner her gratitude for, and appreciation of past services such as their own? The duo found lodgings with considerable difficulty in a furnished house near the Hôtel de Condé; but fearing that their incognito might be betrayed, they crept out of Paris at early dawn on the following morning, and retraced their steps towards Blois.* The self-command of the Queen was admirable; not a word betrayed her sentiments respecting the future government of the realm: not a murmur, her appreciation of the severity with which her power as Regent was limited. To the Duc de Beaufort only she testified some confidence by giving him a private command never to leave the young Dauphin; but vigilantly to watch the deportment of Madame de Lansac, whom the Queen never seems to have taken into favour.

From the time of her removal to the Château Neuf, Anne shared the vigils of the King's attendants, sitting for hours in the *ruelle* of the bed, a book of Hours in her hand, watching the changeful expression of the sufferer's features; or listening with bated breath to his delirious wanderings. M. de Souvré, the Bishop of Meaux, and Dubois were constantly in the chamber, as was also Dinet, the King's confessor. One evening Louis suddenly woke with a start, and said to Condé, who was bending over the pillow, "Ha! M. le Prince, I have been dreaming that your son d'Enghien, had come to blows

* Mém. de la Porte. Petitot, t. 59, p. 391 et seq.

with our enemies, and that after a very hard fought and obstinate battle, we gained the victory, and drove our foes from the battle-field." This declaration was afterwards considered as a prediction made by the King of the great battle of Nordlinghen, so gloriously won at the very hour of Louis's waking by d'Enghien, on the plain upon which France, and her heretic allies, had been beaten in 1634, by the united armies of Spain and the Empire.

On Ascension Day, May 14th, 1643, Louis XIII. expired. He had endured his long and weary sufferings with touching resignation, and died at length, a death of painless exhaustion. His confessor Dinet soothed his last moments, aided by the Bishops of Meaux, and de Lisieux. There were present in the death chamber, the Queen, the Duc d'Orleans, the secretary of state De Chavigny, the Marquis de Souvré, Condé, the Chancellor Séguier, Madame de Brassac, the Ducs de Liancour, and de Beaufort, and the Bishops of Meaux, and Lisieux, the royal almoners, and all the ecclesiastical members of the royal household. In an adjoining chamber were many principal courtiers, princesses, and ladies; and the First President of the Parliament of Paris. All persons present wept and prayed, while the Bishop of Meaux read the solemn prayers of the Church for a soul departing. Suddenly the King opened his eyes, and said in a quick and anxious voice, "Dinet! thoughts arise which trouble me!" "Sire, resist them. Fight under the glorious

banner of the Redeemer! struggle for victory! You are now in the thickest of the conflict; we will all aid you with our prayers!" The King spoke no more: Dubois supported his head, while he gently sank, and expired at a quarter to three o'clock in the afternoon, May 14th, 1643.

The Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé then approached to lead the Queen from the death chamber. She arose from her knees weeping; and suffered the Princes to conduct her back to her apartment.

Anne of Austria was a Widow.

DON SEBASTIAN,

KING OF PORTUGAL.

AN EPISODE OF PORTUGUESE HISTORY.

DON SEBASTIAN.

CHAPTER I.

1552—1573.

KING DON SEBASTIAN: HIS BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

On the 10th day of November, 1552, a procession of cavaliers and ladies traversed the Campo Grande of Valladolid. Amongst the brilliant throng appeared Doña Leonora Manoel Marqueza de Navarres; the Princess of Ascoli; Don Diego Pacheco, Duque de Escalona; Don Pedro de Acosta, Bishop of Osuna; the Chamberlain, Luis Vanegas de Figueroa; Don Lorenzo Perez, ambassador from Don Joaõ III., King of Portugal; and Don Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba. The chief place in this procession was occupied by a litter drawn by six mules superbly caparisoned. The curtains of the litter were closely drawn, but by its side rode Don Felipe, Prince and Regent of the Spains, son and heir of the great Emperor Charles Quint. Reclining within the litter was a fair young girl of sixteen, royally robed, and wearing a bridal veil of gold

tissue beset with gems. On the hangings of the litter the arms of Portugal were embroidered, with the devices and motto of King Joaõ—"*Pro Rege et Grege.*" *

The lady escorted with such pomp was Doña Juana, youngest daughter of the Emperor, and the bride of Don Juan, Prince of Portugal, eldest son of King John III. The marriage had been solemnised by proxy in the old cathedral of Valladolid, a week previously; and the bride was then on her way to the Portuguese frontier, escorted by her brother, Don Philip, and by the *élite* of the Spanish chivalry. The alliance was one highly agreeable to the Emperor Charles V.; the King of Portugal was the brother of his late lamented empress, Doña Isabel; he was also the husband of the Emperor's sister, father-in-law of Prince Philip, and therefore grandfather to Don Carlos, the heir of the vast dominions of Charles V. Notwithstanding this proximity of kin, Doña Juana was an unwilling bride; and the assiduities of her youthful bridegroom-elect mitigated not her reluctance to quit the realm of Spain. Juana was passionately attached to her brother; and she had been also heard to say "that next to the King of Heaven she believed that her Imperial father was most worthy of love, and veneration." Juana loved the gloom and silence of the cloistered

* Sandoval. Vida de Don Carlos V., lib. 31, p. 742. Chronica de Don Sebastiaõ.—Barbosa de Machado, Abbade Reservatorio de Paroquial Igreja de Santo Adriaõ de Sever. Lisboa, 1759.

palaces of Spain, and she spent hours in daily devotion within their gorgeous sanctuaries. The Princess had even expressed a strong yearning for the cloister: and a desire to devote the powers of an intellect of more than usual sagacity, in founding a new religious order of nuns. The fiat, however, of her Imperial father went forth, and decreed her destiny otherwise, and Juana never dreamed of resistance. To minister to the honour, the glory, and the necessities of the House of Hapsburg the Princess believed to be the first of her earthly duties, and privileges.

The frequent intermarriages between the royal houses of Spain and Portugal had produced perplexing, and unnatural degrees of affinity between its various members. The royal house of Avis gave its princesses to Spain, and laid the crown-matrimonial of Portugal at the feet of the daughters of Hapsburg. This exchange had at length become a matter of custom and state policy. The consequence was, that both royal races had degenerated, from the frequent intermarriage of cousins, or even of nearer relatives. Insanity, early death, and lingering hereditary maladies often threatened to extinguish races so fatally yet perpetually conjoined. King Emmanuel the Great, whose reign is termed the Golden Age of Portugal, successively espoused two sisters,* and, surviving these ladies, married for his third wife Eleanor, niece of his previous consorts. John III. the son and successor of Don Emmanuel,

* Daughters of the Catholic Sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella.

took to wife Doña Catherina, youngest sister of his step-mother, Eleanor. Of the numerous children born to King John,* Don Juan, the betrothed and first cousin of the Princess of Spain, was the sole survivor in the year 1552, and on him the hopes, and prayers of his father's subjects rested. No male heir besides, of the blood royal of Avis, was eligible for the succession, excepting the youngest brother of the King, Don Henry, Cardinal Archbishop of Evora. Of the two other deceased brothers of King John, Luis, Duque de Bejar, died, leaving three illegitimate sons;† and the Duque de Guimaraens two legitimate daughters. The health of the Prince of Portugal was delicate, for pulmonary disease was claiming a victim. In case of a disputed succession the power of the crown of Spain ‡ was certain to prevail against the rights of the daughters of the Duque de Guimaraens. The eldest of these princesses espoused Alexandro Farnese, Duke of Parma; but, as the consort of a foreign prince, she was excluded from the throne by a clause of the celebrated statute of Lamego. The younger princess, Doña Catherina, was the wife of the Duque de Braganza, a subject of the Portuguese crown, a

* Five sons and two daughters.

† Anthony, Prior of Crato; Emmanuel, who died a pensioner of France; and Christopher;—by Violante, and Anne de Barbosa. It was believed that a marriage united the duke to the youngest of these sisters, which, however, her sons Emmanuel and Christopher could not prove.

‡ The wife of Charles V. was the eldest sister of King John III.; and Maria, his eldest daughter, was the wife of Philip, her cousin, heir of the Emperor.

prince of royal descent, but of wealth and resources inadequate to contend for so superb a prize with the Imperial chief of Hapsburg. This prospect was the source of uneasiness to the Portuguese; the nation trembled in anticipation of the arbitrary sway of Hapsburg; and nobles and people petitioned King John to seek a wife for his invalid son, in the hope that perchance God might bestow upon them the benediction of a direct heir of the lineage of Avis. King John, therefore, had asked the hand of his niece, which boon was graciously granted. Doña Juana was richly dowered. The Emperor gave his daughter a marriage portion of 360,000 ducats, a quantity of rich furniture, and tapestry hangings, and half the jewels which appertained to her mother, Isabel of Portugal, the deceased empress. Philip escorted his sister to Toro, and there took leave of her, with many expressions of sorrow for their separation. Doña Juana was one of the few personages whose powers, and disposition touched the stern heart of Don Philip. He admired his sister's judgment, he venerated her devotion, and appreciated her fidelity to the interests of the Hapsburg. The Princess continued her journey to Caya, a small place on the frontier, and from thence she travelled to Elvas, where she was received by the Duke de Aveiro, and by the Cardinal Archbishop of Lisbon. A magnificent reception awaited the daughter of Charles V. in every town which she entered on her road to the capital, where she arrived on

the 4th of December, 1552. The marriage of the royal cousins was solemnised on the 7th, in the cathedral at Lisbon, by the Archbishop, Don Fernando de Vasconcellos de Meneses, amid manifestations of joy and contentment from the court and the people.*

Juana, however, cared neither to conciliate her father-in-law, nor his nobles. Great affection and confidence, nevertheless, subsisted between the youthful pair. The helplessness of her invalid husband commanded the sympathy and devotion of the princess. The bridal fêtes which King John deemed it right and politic to give in honour of so illustrious an alliance were no sooner over, than the royal pair departed from the capital, and took up their abode at Almeirin. The seclusion which the Princess chose there to maintain gave great offence. Instead of occasionally gracing the court with her presence, Juana spent her time in devotional practices with her consort; in reading to him in her own musical language; or in discoursing on deeds of chivalry performed by Spanish knights. The Princess was also accused of despising the country of her adoption; and of having said, that the Portuguese grandees were all of them either descended from bastards of their kings, or from cadets of the great hidalgos of Spain.

* Faria de Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa—Tercera Parte. "La Infanta truxo en dote 360,000 ducados, y una condicion llena de aspereza y altivez."

The King of Portugal, Don John, or Joaõ III., was a prince of average talent, who had the reputation of being completely ruled by his consort Queen Catherina, the able, and stern-minded sister of Charles V. He was benevolent and popular with his subjects. The great events of the reign of Don John were the establishment of the Chambers of Inquisition in Portugal; the discovery of Japan; and the mission of St. François Xavier, the famed Jesuit father, and apostle of the Indies. Xavier sailed from Lisbon in 1541, and established himself in the Portuguese colony of Goa; the expenses of his convoy and mission having been defrayed by King John. The want of dutiful reverence displayed by her niece, and daughter-in-law, was keenly resented by Queen Catherina; who even wrote to complain to the Emperor of the conduct of La Princesa, and of its evil effect on the mind of the Portuguese nobles. Charles, who was at this time employed in combating the league concluded between the German Protestant princes at Smalkalden, was not inclined to enter into a harassing correspondence relative to his daughter's caprices. He wrote, however, and recommended Doña Catherina to be content, provided that La Princesa pleased her husband, and presented him in due time with a son.

The Infanta Maria, daughter of Eleanor,* Queen-

* Widow of Emmanuel the Great, king of Portugal, and second wife of Francis I., king of France.

dowager of France, whose large revenues gave her great influence at the court of Lisbon, experienced no warmer courtesy from the impracticable Juana. The lively deportment of Doña Maria, her love of frolic and the chase, and her evident enjoyment at the banqueting board, offended the austere Princess; who could neither be propitiated by the learning of the Infanta, nor by her charitable donations, including her magnificent monastic foundation of Nuestra Senhora de Luz.*

In the Cardinal Enrique, Juana found more congeniality of mind, and pursuits. The Cardinal seldom frequented the court; but passed his time at Coimbra in learned seclusion, absorbed in promoting the prosperity of that university, of which he was the munificent patron; and in attending to the ecclesiastical affairs of his archbishopric of Evora. The remaining principal personages of the Portuguese court were the Duke of Aveiro and his brothers, Don Francisco de Sà; the Conde de Vimiosa; the secretary of state, Don Pedro de Alcazova, who possessed the confidence of Queen Catherina; the Duke of Braganza; and Don Francisco de Tavora, and other grandees—all of

* Portuguese authors abound in their praise of this princess, who, nevertheless, was not a dutiful daughter. Maria was twice on the point of becoming the consort of Philip II.; she was betrothed to the eldest son of Francis I.; and the Emperor Ferdinand, when King of the Romans, offered her his hand. "A viveza do juizo, e a facilidade da comprehensaõ contribuiraõ para velozmente aprender os dialectos Latina y Grega; de que teve pos mestra a insigne matrona Luiza Sigla, Senhora de Villasur."—Barbosa de Machado, Biblioteca Lusitaniaõ, t. 3.

whom participated slightly in the courtesies so grudgingly distributed by La Princesa.

The event for which all Portugal waited in anxious suspense was at length announced—Doña Juana became pregnant. With this joyous intimation came the tidings, that the health of the Prince of Portugal was more precarious; and that his physicians despaired of keeping life in him until after the birth of his expected offspring. Prayers were made in every church throughout the realm for the recovery of the Prince, and for the safe delivery of his consort. Processions passed in picturesque magnificence from shrine to shrine; the altars in the churches of Alcobaça, Batalha, Coimbra, Belem, and Lisbon, were laden with gifts, and blazed with holy tapers, the offerings of the pious. Portents of alarming import, however, disturbed the tranquillity of the Princess, and redoubled her melancholy bodings. One night, while she sat at twilight hour, watching by the couch of her husband, a woman clad in black garments glided to her side. Pointing to the sleeping Prince, the apparition snapped its fingers, heaved a sigh, and vanished. The following night the lamp burning in the chamber of the royal pair was suddenly extinguished. Moorish figures, clad in mourning, and carrying funeral torches, were also seen on two different nights by Juana and her ladies, while they walked under a favourite verandah over the Tajo.*

* Hist. Portuguesa de Emanuel Faria de Sousa—Tercera Parte.

Consolation congenial to the mind of Doña Juana is recorded as having visited her at this doleful season. While the Princess was one evening abstracted in prayer before the altar of her oratory, the apartment beamed with celestial light, and the form of St. Elizabeth of Portugal became manifest. The sainted queen of Dionysius spoke words of comfort to the Princess, and announced to her that she should give birth to a son; bidding her be of good cheer, as she was greatly beloved, and was destined to achieve notable things for the service of God.

In the middle of December, Doña Juana quitted Almeirin and repaired to Lisbon for her *accouchement*, in obedience to an express command of the council of state. On the second day of the New Year, 1554, the Prince of Portugal, Don Juan, expired. This sorrowful event was wisely concealed from the Princess; who eighteen days afterwards brought into the world a son, born during the night of January 20th, 1554, the Feast of St. Sebastian. Joy of transporting description inspired the people of Portugal. Festivities on a lavish scale of splendour took place in Lisbon, and the larger towns of the realm. The capital was illuminated, largesse distributed, in thankfulness to Heaven for the auspicious birth of the royal infant; mourning for the demise of Don Juan was abandoned; and the funeral hangings in the churches were taken down, as savouring of ingratitude to God after the signal blessing

vouchsafed to the realm.* The Prince was named Sebastian,† in honour of the saint on whose festival he first saw light. Pope Paul IV. sent his benediction to the young Prince; and his Holiness shortly afterwards despatched, as a gift for the child, a relic of great value, being one of the veritable arrows which had transfixed the holy body of his patron saint, St. Sebastian, during the cruel martyrdom of the latter.

The youthful widow of Prince Don Juan issued from her lying-in chamber in spirit more sad, and abstracted. Her grief for the loss of her husband was intense; and in the first transport of her sorrow, her heart yearned for the devout solitudes of the cloister. The Princess, in token of her future renunciation of the gauds of royalty, made a vow to offer her fair and beautiful tresses, which had been greatly admired by her deceased lord, at the shrine of the patron saint of Portugal. King John, however, forbade the sacrifice, until the consent of the Emperor could be obtained. He also declined to permit Doña Juana to retire into the nunnery of Madre de Dios of Lisbon, there to pass the interval of mourning prescribed, until he had conferred with the Spanish council. Juana, nevertheless, accomplished the vow of sacrificing her hair. She enclosed her tresses in a golden box which she after-

* Memorias del Rey Don Sebastiaõ de Portugal. Barbosa de Machado, t. 1, año 1554.

† Sousa. His Holiness also gave the infant King the title of "Filho obedientissimo da Igreja." Barbosa, Bibl. Lusitaniaõ.

wards offered on the altar of the magnificent nunnery of Las Descalzas Réales of Madrid; the building and endowing of which subsequently became the joy, and solace of her existence. She likewise assumed mourning garments, and enveloped herself in a veil of white crape, without which, for ten subsequent years, she was never seen in public.* Her infant, meantime, proved no comfort to the bereaved spirit of La Princesa. Don Sebastian was born for Portugal, and not that his infantine caresses might soothe the wayward affliction, as the Portuguese courtiers said, of his young mother. The child was committed to the care of Queen Catherina. A board of privy councillors was established to watch over, and guard the precious growth of the heir of Avis, and to receive daily reports from his physicians. When the child went forth to take the air in public, a guard of honour was absolutely requisite to keep back the curious and admiring crowd; while the chief grandees clamorously disputed for office in the household of the infant Prince. The *aya* of the Prince was Doña Joanna de Meneses Condesa de Coutinho, a lady highly esteemed and favoured by the Queen; and who had filled the same office about the children

* Cabrera, Vida de Don Felipe Segundo. Stirling, Cloister Life of Charles V. When Brantôme visited the court of Madrid, in 1565, the Princess had recovered from her dejection, and extraordinary mourning. He says, "Je trouvay Madame la Princesse très belle, fort bien vêtue, et coiffée d'une toque à l' Espagnole de crêpe blanc, qui luy baissait fort bas sur le nez, et vêtue non autrement en femme veuve à l'Espagnole, car elle portait de la soye."—Brantôme, Vie de Jeanne d'Autriche.

of her royal mistress. The babe grew and flourished, for Queen Catherina was a matron of decision, and knowledge. Her Majesty wisely endured the importunate supervision of her self-constituted colleages; she suffered the counsellors to talk, but herself assumed the sole responsibility of the nurture of her grandson. Doña Juana, therefore, having neither duties, nor interests, nor popularity to detain her in Lisbon, meditated a retreat back to her beloved Spain. During the life of King John, no political duties devolved upon her. The King, by the laws of Portugal, was also the personal guardian of his grandson, and heir. The enthusiasm demonstrated by the court, and people grated harshly on the loyal feelings which animated La Princesa towards her kindred; for the raptures with which her infant had been greeted was a public expression of gratitude to Providence for deliverance from the iron rule of Hapsburg. From personal ambition, Juana was perfectly free; nevertheless, events were impending, and a career of power was opened for La Princesa, which for a considerable interval suspended the indulgence of the ruling desire of her life. Prince Philip, after much real or pretended reluctance, consented to accept the hand of his cousin, Mary Tudor, Queen of England; and, in obedience to the mandate of his father, prepared to quit Spain for the solemnization of his marriage. All the children of Charles V. manifested extravagant attachment for Spain: they quitted that realm with

tears and foreboding, and returned to its beloved soil with thanksgiving. The Emperor himself, his children, grandchildren, and sisters, however august the rank to which the matrimonial alliances of the latter had elevated them, returned into Spain to die. One of the greatest sacrifices made by Don Philip therefore, in accepting the hand of Queen Mary, was separation from his sunny Spain, and his contemplated residence in the cold, and mist-bound island over which his future consort reigned. The diadem of wealthy England, however, was not to be rejected for personal considerations only; and Philip was easily convinced by the exhortations of the Emperor. Charles deplored his inability to fulfil the early contract which had bound him to Queen Mary; else he would willingly "have exonerated *su alteza* from the irksome duty." Letters patent, therefore, were signed by the Emperor at Brussels, March 31st, 1554, which, after reciting the political reasons which rendered the marriage of Don Philip with the serene Queen of England judicious, and to be desired, stated that as a Regent was requisite to preside over the realm of Spain, the Emperor, "having experience of the virtue, magnanimity, and praiseworthy disposition of the most serene Princess and Infanta Doña Juana, his very dear and beloved daughter; being persuaded, also, of the love and respect borne towards the said Princess by his subjects and allies, he had resolved to nominate and elect her said Highness as governor of the realms of Castille, Leon, Granada, and Navarre;

and to bestow upon the said serene Princess absolute power, to govern the said realms in his name and stead; believing that in so decreeing he was fulfilling the will of God Almighty, and providing for the safety and prosperity of these said royalties."* Nominated as Regent of a mighty kingdom, the position did not admit of comparison with that which La Princesa occupied in Portugal. The mother of the heir-apparent, Juana was without influence; during the lifetime of her royal father-in-law complete political obscurity awaited her; and at the demise of King John, a hard and doubtful contest for the regency during the minority of Don Sebastian, with Queen Catherina, who was entitled by the Portuguese, "Madre della Patria." The Emperor, and his son Philip, despatched Don Luis Vaneguas de Figueroa to apprise La Princesa of the high functions to which she had been elected. The ambassador, also, carried letters addressed to the King and Queen of Portugal, congratulating them on the birth of Don Sebastian; and requesting, that they would grant permission to Doña Juana to return to her father's dominions. No obstacles were interposed; for their kinsmen of Spain were not just then in the best odour with their Portuguese Majesties, as proposals of marriage had been made, and suddenly withdrawn, by Prince Philip, to the wealthy Infanta Doña Maria, when his union with the Queen of England became probable.

* Sandoval—Vida de Don Carlos V. lib. 31, p. 757. Cabrera—Felipe Segundo.

At the end of May, 1554, four months after her *accouchement*, Juana recrossed the frontier at Elvas, and proceeded in great state, attended by a suite of 150 persons, to Valladolid, where she was soon after formally installed as Regent of Spain by her brother, Don Philip. After this period the Princess never saw her son, Don Sebastian; being too thoroughly monopolised in promoting the interests of her family; and in attending to her devotional exercises, and projects.

Meantime, the infant heir of Portugal grew in strength and beauty; and realised the fondest aspirations of his grandfather. The royal boy is described as strong-limbed, and rejoicing in all manner of rough sports. Sebastian was three years old when he lost his grandfather, and was himself proclaimed King of Portugal. Some days previous to the King's death, while the Prince was sitting by his bed, some broth was brought for the sick man, and presented in a silver cup with a cover. The child thereupon asked to taste of what his grandfather was drinking: some of the broth was, therefore, given to him in a small porcelain basin. The child angrily remarked the omission of the silver cup and cover, and began to cry loudly.* The old King then desired that the little Sebastian should be carried from his apartment, making sorrowful comment on the ambition already displayed by his grandson, "who," he said, "desired to be crowned before his time." Don John III. died

* Stirling—Cloister Life of Charles V.

June 2nd, 1557,* muttering in his death agonies, the prophecy of Alphonso I., founder of the Portuguese monarchy, "that God had vouchsafed sure intimation that a king of the royal lineage of Avis should never fail the realm: nevertheless, that great tribulations, and unparalleled affliction would befall the monarch sixteenth† in descent from himself."

The regency of the realm by the will of the deceased King, and by universal consent was bestowed on Queen Catherina. Doña Juana made some faint attempt to assert her maternal rights, but unsuccessfully. The Emperor Charles, then in his retreat at Yuste, seconded his daughter's overtures; but when her ambassador Don Fadrique Enriquez visited him, and submitted the epistle written by La Princesa to the Queen-regent, haughtily demanding the administration of Portugal during the minority of the young King, Charles—who had reasons for propitiating the Regent, desiring to extort from her Majesty the recognition of the eventual rights of Philip, and his son Carlos, in case of the demise of Don Sebastian—gave orders for the suppression of her Highness's letter.‡ The Emperor then gave minute instructions

* King Don John III. died after repeated attacks of apoplexy.—Memorias del Rey Don Sebastiaô.—Barbosa de Machado, vol. I.

† Which was the young Sebastian.

‡ "Dije y ordené, a D. Fadrique Enriquez, que en ninguna manera me parecia que tratese de vuestra parte con la Reyna mi hermana, ni le distes cartas, ni usase de ellas."—Carta del Emperadora la Princesa Doña Juana.—Gachard, Retraite, et Mort de l'Empereur.—Lettres Inédites, p. 206, t. 5.—Ibid.

to the envoy how to proceed in the delicate negotiation: he was directed to make no positive claim for the Princess—not even to name her Highness; but skilfully to probe the sentiments of the Queen, and the Cardinal Henry on the subject, before proceeding to more open protest. "*Es bien, en estas cosas y entre hermanos, ir con mucho miramiento, por todos respectos; y mas vos, siendo hija,*" writes the wary old Emperor, to his daughter. The resignation of her regency in Spain by the Princess, was considered a project most undesirable by Charles, and by his son King Philip—hence their lukewarm support of the maternal rights of Doña Juana. For the sake of appearances the Emperor made a few more attempts to assert his daughter's claims: he even despatched the famous Father Francisco de Borgia to sound the dispositions of the Portuguese government.* The mission of the reverend father entailed upon him much personal suffering. The heat was intense, and malaria rife. At Evora, therefore, Father Borgia was laid up with a fever, which left him at the point of death. "Señor, on arriving at Evora, God was pleased to lead me to the gate of death by means of heavy sickness; and if it had not been for the Queen-regent, who sent her litter, and had me conveyed thence, I doubt whether I could have performed the mission entrusted to me," writes the famous Jesuit

* The mission of the ex-Duke of Gandia also concerned the succession of Philip and his son Carlos to the crown of Portugal, in the event of the demise of the infant King.

from Lisbon.* Despite the attentions of the Regent, further vicissitudes awaited Borgia, who was nearly drowned during a heavy gale, while crossing the Tagus.† The eloquence of the reverend father failed to forward the cause of La Princesa; while he was baffled in his scrutiny as to the source of the alienation manifested by the members of the privy council, towards the mother of their child-King. The election of the Portuguese, for the training of their King, was then acquiesced in by Doña Juana, and by her kindred.

Queen Catherina retained the regency for five years: at the expiration of that period, feeling her strength unequal to the burden of government, she resigned the office in 1562 to the Cardinal-Infant Don Henrique, retaining the guardianship of the King, with power to remove and appoint the officers of his household. Catherina acquitted herself well of this responsibility; and devoted her time and energies to the discharge of her important functions. Don Alesco de Meneses was appointed governor to the King; his tutor and confessor was Father Luys Gonzalez da Camara, a learned Jesuit of the University of Coimbra. The chief pages and playfellows of

* Gachard, t. 2, Carta 69. The personages named in Father Borgia's letters are mentioned by fictitious names: thus the Emperor is termed Nuer Agustino; Queen Catherine, Catalina Diez, &c.

† "Naõ tinha cortado grande espaço do rio, quando repentinamente se arivon hum furioso temporal que alteron de tâl modo o Tajo, que chegavaõ as suas aguas até às estrellas," relates Machado, in his Chronicle of Don Sebastiaõ, t. 1, p. 76.

the King were the young Duque de Barcelos, son of the Duke of Braganza; Don Christovaõ de Tavora; Don Alvaro de Castro; and the brother of his tutor, Martin Gonzalez,—who, nevertheless, was considerably older than Don Sebastian, and even then aspired to the post of secretary of state; which he eventually obtained through the influence of his brother, and the Jesuit fathers who ruled the counsels of the Cardinal-Regent. Sousa* relates the following anecdote of the boyhood of the King: one day Don Sebastian directed a horse to be saddled, and prepared to leave the palace of Cintra, at an hour usually devoted to study. His governor, Don Alesco, therefore, countermanded the order. An unseemly dispute ensued between his Majesty and his governor. Don Alesco, however, resolutely refusing to withdraw the prohibition, the young King in a rage quitted the apartment, uttering threats of vengeance. On his way to the apartments of his grandmother, to complain of his governor, one of the young lords of his household, addressed the King, and complimented him on his spirit, saying, "that it became a sovereign prince to resent impertinent coercion." This fawning laudation roused the generous spirit of the boy-King. Don Sebastian stood for a few minutes deep in thought: he then beckoned to the young cavalier to follow him, and retraced his steps to the apartment of his governor. Don Alesco was pacing the chamber in anxious mood, reflecting probably on the risk, and

* Hist. Portuguesa. Reynado del Rey Don Sebastian—Tercera Parte.

onerous nature of the duties of a governor to a King in his nonage. The King respectfully approached his governor, and asked pardon for his hasty words: pointing to the cavalier who stood abashed, his Majesty added, "He actually kissed my hand, because I refused to submit to your authority,—a certain sign that I was wrong!" The devout spirit early exhibited by Don Sebastian gave great content to his Jesuit Mentors; the which, combined with his early predilection for military exercises, caused them triumphantly to predict that his Majesty would turn out a *preux chevalier*, as well as a champion of the Church. Books of travel were eagerly devoured by the young King; and with kindling eye he pored over the page of history which recorded the brilliant achievements of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of his grandfather Charles V., in their wars against the Moors. To extirpate the remnant of the infidel races driven from Granada by the Catholic Kings, and settled in Africa; and to raise the Cross on the citadels of Morocco and Fez, was the boyish ideal of Don Sebastian. This aspiration, encouraged in the first instance by his Jesuit preceptors, at length became the absorbing dream of the King's mind. Visions of combats between the Crescent and the Cross haunted his dreams, in which victory crowned the Portuguese arms. In vain Doña Catherina attempted to initiate her grandson in the policy and statecraft of Europe: the young Sebastian derided what he called the juggles of diplomacy, which he

ungallantly stigmatised as "meet alone for women and for priests." The recreations of Sebastian thenceforth partook of the mania which possessed his spirit. The cavaliers, his companions, were divided into bands, Saracen, and Christian: the King assumed the command of the latter; while Don Alvaro de Castro led the Mussulman champions, and many doughty, though mimic conflicts ensued.

In 1568, Don Sebastian attained the age of fourteen,—his majority, as fixed by the laws of Portugal. Don Henrique formally resigned his functions as Regent; but prepared to act as first minister, and counsellor to his nephew. To the surprise of the court, the precocious boy declined the proposal, and gravely accepted the responsibility of kingly rule. Sebastian then daily held council,* showing peculiar aptitude for military details; he summoned cortès; and insisted on perusing all despatches, especially those which related to the Portuguese colony of Goa, and the settlements on the coasts of Barbary. The affairs of the Jesuit establishments of St. François Xavier, were examined with the greatest interest by the King: the heroic devotion, and supreme labours of that saintly personage Sebastian often discussed, while shedding tears of genuine admiration and envy. The spirit of a hero, as well as that of a devotee,

* De Mon, a contemporary of Don Sebastian, severely judges the presumption of the young King; he says, "Revetu de l'autorité souveraine, il commença par en abuser: le prince n'eut plus pour ministres que des flatteurs; et il ne forma que des projets chimériques au dessous de ses forces, et de son age."—Liv. 65, p. 599.

moved the heart of the gallant young son of Doña Juana. Sebastian also declared himself to be of opinion, that kings ought not to be surpassed by their subjects in learned aptitude. Accordingly when, after the proclamation of his majority, Sebastian accompanied his uncle, Don Henrique to visit the University of Coimbra, the King being informed that the faculty of theology intended to honour him by a public disputation, his Majesty asked for a summary of the questions to be debated in his presence. This being of course furnished, the young King passed a night in the study of the divines whose writings elucidated the proposed controversy, and particularly examined the works of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The King, on his return to Lisbon, adopted the utmost simplicity of attire: all luxuries were banished from his apartments; the feastings, and festivals of the reign of King John became facts of tradition under the new *régime*, to the regret of the courtiers, and of no one more than the jovial Infanta Doña Maria. All manly exercises which required vigour, and agility were favourite pastimes of Don Sebastian. When the wind blew hurricanes, and the waves dashed wildly over the bar of Lisbon, the inhabitants of the capital, watched often with eager suspense the progress of a small vessel, having at the main the royal standard, as it ploughed its way through the foaming waters,—for on board that frail ship was the hope of the nation, King Don Sebastiaõ. "There is no bravery, or merit, or profit to be gained by

going on board in a calm," replied his Majesty to the expostulation of his council. Boating on the Tagus was another delight of the youthful monarch. Hunting the boar in the forests which then surrounded the royal residence of Cintra, he likewise pursued with ardour. Sebastian always dismounted to give the *coup de grâce* to the boar; sometimes the wounded beast turned upon his assailant, and none of the cavaliers presumed, however desperate the struggle, to intervene between the King, and his savage foe. Solitude, and contemplation also had supreme attractions for the son of Doña Juana. Often, when at Belem or Cintra, the King rose from his bed, and wandered forth in the tranquil moonlight, to muse, and to pray. One night the inmates of the palace of Cintra, were roused by shrieks, and by the clash of combat. Don Alvaro de Castro, first gentleman of the chamber, being always on the alert, by command of the Queen-mother, during the nocturnal rambles of his royal master, rushed forth, followed by other persons of the household, to ascertain the cause of the clamour, fearing that evil had happened to his Majesty. Don Sebastian was found in close combat, with a fierce and gigantic negro slave, who having fled from his master, and taken temporary refuge in a thick grove which skirted the royal domain, had attacked the King, as he leisurely wandered amid its gloomy depths.* When Don Alvaro reached

* Sousa—Hist. Portuguesa, 3ra Parte; Reynado de Don Sebastian. Barbosa—Bibl. Lusitaniaô, t. 3ra.

the scene of conflict, the dagger of the King was buried in the throat of his assailant. Don Sebastian was likewise fond of fencing with the young lords of his suite; and took with unalterable temper and philosophy, his own mishaps, and reverses. His ardour for violent exercises was such, that occasionally his Majesty was known to arrest the progress of his *cortège*, in order to watch the result of a street fight between two ragged Lisbon urchins.

About the year 1570, the King having in view the possibility of a future crusade against the infidel, commanded the enrolment of bands of volunteers. The royal agents accepted all persons indiscriminately who proferred service: mendicants, rogues, and vagabonds, from the lowest *canaille*, swelled the ranks of the brigade destined to render such stalwart service to Europe. The parade-ground of these future servants of the Cross was without the city of Lisbon. The King personally superintended the drill, to the scandal and apprehension of Queen Catherina, and of his ministers. A certain Juan de Gama, patronised by the Jesuits, clad in a hermit's vestment, and girt with a rope, acted as royal lieutenant, and harangued the volunteers, expatiating on the glory of their future mission, and on the piety of their gallant young King. "Don Sebastian," says a contemporary,* "was usually present at the drill; and several times risked his life, when passing from rank to rank,

* De Thou—Hist. de son Temps, liv. 65. Victor Palma Cayet—Chronologie Septennaire, pp. 345, et seq.

owing to the awkward aim taken by the new recruits." The King refused to permit the interference of military officers: Sebastian desired the sole honour of training his bands—besides, he shrewdly suspected that the zeal of his generals might not be kindled by the contemplation of a campaign in Barbary: or by an expedition to the distant, and arid plains of Goa. The depositary of the designs of the King was Don Martin Gonzalez da Camara, brother of his ex-tutor and confessor, Padre Luys. The King, about this period, being annoyed at the passive opposition, which the privy council evinced in matters which he deemed likely to promote his favourite designs, resolved to remove his secretary of state Don Pedro de Alcazova, who had faithfully served his grandfather, and to bestow the post on Martin Gonzalez. The Jesuit communities applauded the royal resolve; which seems also to have been sanctioned by the Queen Dowager,—probably owing to the influence of her confessor, the Jesuit Padre Torres. The first act of the new minister was a bold one. Cardinal Don Henrique, suspicious of the influence of the fathers which was felt in all departments of the state, had made some effort during his regency, to curtail the ascendency of the Order, which possessed monasteries and colleges in every fair, and fruitful district of the realm. Under pretence that the Cardinal-Infant, being devoted to a life of learned seclusion, neglected the duties of his office of Inquisitor-General, Gonzalez had the audacity to propose to the young King to

depose his uncle from that function; and also to require his resignation of the archiepiscopal see of Evora, that both these important offices might be bestowed on his own brother, Padre Luys Gonzalez, his Majesty's confessor.* This bold enterprise becoming known to the Spanish ambassador, Ferdinando de Carrillo, so alarmed the latter, that he hastened to apprise Philip II. of this conspiracy against the heir presumptive. Philip despatched a special envoy with a missive to his nephew, in which he represented in such forcible language the folly, and inexpediency of so affronting the Cardinal-Infant, to whom Don Sebastian was moreover, bound by the strongest ties of gratitude, that the project was relinquished. The knowledge, however, that his nephew had not opposed the presumptuous designs of the minister, created a lasting coldness between the royal relatives; and may account, probably, for the subsequent disloyal act of usurpation with which the Cardinal is by many charged,—the more so, as Don Henrique was heard to declare, that he would never forget the friendly interposition of Philip II., without which, his rich temporalities must have been appropriated.

The turbulent life led by their boy-King, "who before he attained the age of sixteen, had encountered more personal perils, than almost any cavalier of his realm," naturally renewed the anxiety of the Portuguese respecting the royal succession. In 1569, pro-

* Sousa—Hist. Portuguesa, 3ra Parte. Memorias de Don Sebastiaõ—Machado, t. 1.

positions had been made for the betrothal of Don Sebastian, with the Archduchess Elizabeth of Austria, second daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. The elder sister of the princess had been affianced to the unfortunate Don Carlos, son of Philip II. The latter was still plunged in the deepest dejection for the loss of his fair young Queen, Elizabeth de Valois; and his Majesty, declaring that he had no intention to contract second nuptials, had, therefore, sanctioned the project of marrying the eldest Archduchess, to Charles IX., King of France; and the youngest to Don Sebastian. The alliance seems to have been coldly acquiesced in by the King. By his relatives it was especially applauded; and Doña Juana even offered to complete the education of her niece, and future daughter-in-law, in her convent palace at Madrid. The design was equally pleasing to Queen Catherina, who in vain tried to reconcile her grandson to his matrimonial prospects—for Sebastian piqued himself on his reserve with the fairest of his subjects. No lady, however high her rank or bright her charms, had yet enslaved the heart of Don Sebastião. The King, to the grief of his grandmother, showed civility only to the elderly dueñas of her household. The Marqueza de Navarres, and the Condesa de Coutinho, were in this respect particularly favoured by their sovereign. His Majesty even carried his *bienveillance* towards the latter so far as to be present at the profession of her young, and lovely daughter, Doña Inez de Meneses, in the convent of Madre de Dios. "His

Majesty is so chaste and modest, that he cannot even look a woman in the face," writes the Spanish ambassador, Don Ferdinando de Carrillo, to his royal master.* The ambassador continues to expatiate on the scrupulous modesty evinced by the young King, who, he relates, never admitted attendants in his bath-room; or suffered the door of his bed-chamber to be opened until he had assumed the greater part of his apparel; in so doing, deviating in singular fashion from the practice of his brother monarchs, whose *lever* and *coucher* were conducted with all due formalities. The courtiers of Don Sebastian began to descry, and predict future troubles: it was reported, that the maids of honour of the Infantas fled in dismay from the presence of their liege lord, who had always a reproof to administer; or a sneer to indulge in, at feminine vanity. This severity, united to the palpable unwillingness of the King to enter into negotiations for his betrothal, created much discussion. Sebastian was always engaged with his volunteers, or in the pastime of the chase, or was out of temper, when the council assembled to deliberate on the propositions of King Philip. The latter wrote letter upon letter to the Queen, to his nephew, and to his ambassador, in support of the proposed marriage.† He offered to add one third to the

* Carta autografa de Don Ferdinando Carrillo a S. M. fecha a Evora, 6 de Diciembre de 1569.—Documentos Ineditos, vol. 28, p. 560.

† Docum. Ineditos, vols. 28, 29. Ibid.—Carta a la serenissime Reyna de Portugal mi Tia y Madre." Cabrera.—Hist. de la Vida de Felipe Segundo, gives in detail the letters of the Empress to achieve the

dowry of Madame Elizabeth: and exhorted the Queen to proceed with the negotiation, despite of the unnatural shyness exhibited by his Majesty—"as it was the duty of kings to marry, and provide for the succession of their realms." After much objurgation, added to the imploring entreaties of his grandmother, and mother, Don Sebastian signified his willingness to bestow his crown matrimonial on the Archduchess Elizabeth; and the royal assent was joyfully notified to the courts of Madrid, and Vienna. Meantime, the Empress Marie, sister of Philip II., offered the hand of her eldest daughter the Archduchess Anne to her brother; while Pope Pius V. promised dispensation, and exhorted the King of Spain to espouse that Princess; to give her sister Elizabeth to the King of France; and to marry his nephew Don Sebastian, to the Princess Marguerite de Valois. "The monarchs," wrote his Holiness, "will then all espouse princesses of suitable lineage to grace their respective, and most august thrones." Philip, who was beginning to wish again for the solace of companionship in his dreary vigils, and solemn pastimes, at once approved these alliances. The betrothment of the Archduchesses was immediately proceeded with; and Philip, through Alava his Ambassador, without previous communication with King Sebastian, proposed to Queen

marriages in question. The Princess Elizabeth, it appears, greatly preferred the alliance of Don Sebastian to that of King Charles IX.; and therefore she wept for several days when her marriage with the latter prince was negotiated, and resolved upon.—Vide Cabrera.

Catherine de' Medici, that the hand of the Princess Marguerite of France should be given to his nephew. Philip next wrote to Lisbon to announce his intended union with his niece, the elder Archduchess; and to impart that of Madame Elizabeth her sister, to Charles IX. In the cold and precise terms, which distinguish the letters of Philip II., he explained the political necessity of these alliances; while expressing regret at the disappointment likely to be felt by his nephew. He stated that there was no suitable match for Charles IX. in Europe, except one of the daughters of the Emperor; as his sister Doña Juana refused to leave her monastic retreat, and his own daughters the Infantas, were yet in their infancy; whereas a marriage between Marguerite de Valois, and Don Sebastian would be alike honourable to the King, and advantageous to Portugal. Philip, therefore, emphatically recommended the alliance, in language of almost peremptory dictation.

Dire was the consternation of the Portuguese court on the reception of this despatch. Sebastian broke out into vehement fury at the indignity offered to him: first, in depriving him of his all but affianced bride; secondly, that overtures should have been made to the French court for his alliance with Marguerite de Valois without his sanction. He vowed that nothing should now induce him to marry: that as for an alliance with France, Portuguese colonies had suffered too many wrongs, and insults from the predatory assaults of French cruisers, for

which no redress could be obtained, to render matrimonial alliance possible, or expedient.* Queen Catherina next indited an angry letter to her nephew: she reproached Philip for the indignity inflicted on her grandson, whose aversion to matrimony was thereby greatly increased: she reminds him, that "in marriage the consent of two persons was requisite;" and that the young King did not choose to ask the hand of the French princess—an alliance, which must involve his realm in warfare, seeing that concord between the kingdoms of France and Spain, might any day be subverted, so many were the causes of dissension between these potent crowns; and that if King Sebastian sided with his own kindred, his colonies would be exposed to the vengeance of the French. Queen Catherina's unfaltering pen runs on thus, through three sheets, with similar protest.† Philip replied, in no less peremptory tones, defending his proceedings, and treating the objections of Don Sebastian as the caprice of a wayward and rude boy, ignorant of the deference due to ladies, and careless of his future welfare.

The Queen-mother of Portugal, meanwhile, caused an ample report to be forwarded to her of the personal appearance, habits, and disposition of Marguerite de

* Docum. Ineditos sobre la Historia de España, vol. 28, p. 52.

† Docum. Ineditos, vol. 28, p. 507, fecha a Almeirin. There is also another letter written by the Queen in more conciliatory language, in which her Majesty deplores the contumacious spirit displayed by her grandson, who will not marry.—Carta fecha a Alenquer, 29 Setiembre, 1569; Docum. Ined. t. 28, Archives de Simancas, No. 386.

Valois, from the pen of one Senhor de Luna, who had been sent to Paris by the Portuguese government, to demand reparation for a piratical descent on the island of Madeira. The envoy sent rapturous descriptions of the beauty and wit of the young Princess: he described her as having the face of an angel; but that her levity, and spirit of intrigue, were likely to scandalise the decorous courts of the peninsula. Marguerite's *liaison* with the Duc de Guise was recorded; together with the opinion current throughout France, that the Princess would find means to compel the reluctant assent of her royal brothers, to her marriage with the former. The project of alliance, meantime, was favourably received by King Charles, and the Queen-mother of France. Marguerite herself, graciously greeted the envoy Luna, when he paid his respects at Angers; and records in her Memoirs her satisfaction at the anticipated proposals of Don Sebastian. It is certain, nevertheless, that the Princess still kept up secret relations with the Duc de Guise; and that this fact being known at the Portuguese court, increased the aversion, and the resolve of the austere young Sebastian not to ally himself with France. Pius V., however, pertinaciously kept the negotiation afloat, in his dread lest Catherine de' Medici should marry her daughter to the heretic Prince of Navarre—an event subsequently realised. Pius sent monks on private missions to the court of Lisbon, with messages for the devout ear of Queen

Catherina ;* while Philip II. weekly wrote missives of considerable length, and argument; and his ambassadors hung about the court, to surprise the young King into discourse, and to wring from him his views on the subject. It was generally believed on the rupture of the negotiation, that Philip's intervention was a feint; and that he had advisedly procured the rejection of the hand of the French Princess. Such was the opinion of Marguerite herself ;† and also of her mother, which is plainly expressed in various despatches. No one, however, can peruse Philip's laborious effusions to his nephew, now recently made public, without being convinced of his sincerity; and that for some unknown motive he then conceived it his interest to place the sceptre of fair Lusitania, in the hand of his sister-in-law Marguerite de Valois. The objurgations of King Philip at length produced the effect of pretended compliance. Sebastian sullenly consented to espouse the Princess; but declined to ask her hand; or to accredit a special ambassador to Paris! The Queen-mother, at her wit's end, then addressed Doña Juana, and exhorted her, *como madre y señora de su hijo*, "that if she wished this alliance to be accomplished, she should make interest with King Philip to settle the rebellion in Barbary; as events there, were not

* Instructions baillées à Hairye.—Ancien Fond Français, 9751, fol. 108. Bibl. Imp. MS.

† "Cependant," writes Marguerite, "le roy d'Espagne, qui ne veut pas que les siens s'allient hors de sa maison, rompit tout le mariage du Roy de Portugal, et ne s'en parla plus."—Mémoires, 1570.

without their weight on the heated brain of Don Sebastian, rendering him totally indifferent to marriage."* The subjects of Don Sebastian, meantime, showed their displeasure at the spirit of misogamy evinced by their King. Placards were audaciously manufactured; and a paper containing the words, "*Don Sebastiaõ, rey malaventurado, aborrecidor de mugeres!*" was thrown into the litters of Queen Catherina, as she was proceeding to hear mass,—an incident which occasioned her Majesty much solicitude, and distress.

The passion of the King for an expedition against the infidel had been gathering in intensity; and until this longing was satiated, or dissipated, it was clear that he would never apply to his kingly duties. The glorious victories, and conquests of his ancestors were studied with enthusiastic pride by Don Sebastian. The deeds and prowess of Alphonso I., and his triumph over five Moorish kings at the memorable fight of Ourique (1139), followed by the proclamation of Portugal as a kingdom; and the rescue of that country from its subjection to the Caliphs of the race of Benhumeyas, the King proudly indicated as a model he was emulous to excel. To annihilate the powerful dynasty, then reigning over Morocco, and to annex the Moorish empire, became the dominant

* Carta du Doña Catherina, Reyna de Portugal, a La Princesa. Almeirin, 13 Majo, 1569.—Docum. Ineditos, vol. 28. The Pope also, wrote a brief, exhorting the clergy and nobles to dispose the King to show more submission to the counsels of his grandmother, and his uncle King Philip.

idea of the King. A mere handful of knights had achieved not only the conquest of Portugal, but had annexed to that realm an empire of vast extent. The chivalry and enterprise of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, had raised the nation to a high place in the councils of Europe. Heroic battles against the Moors of Barbary, commanded by Alfonso V. in person, in which victory was disputed inch by inch, led to the foundation of a new kingdom on the frontiers of Fez, and Morocco. Under the flag of Don Henrique, third son of John I., important discoveries were made on the African coasts. Guinea was explored and annexed; and soon, that inhospitable shore appeared covered with Portuguese factories; while the settlement of St° Jórge del Mina, in a few years expanded into a flourishing colony. The kingdoms of Congo and Benin next embraced the Christian faith (1481); while the islands of Madeira, Cape Verde, and the Azores were discovered, and also united to the Portuguese dominions by Don Henrique. The reign of Don John II. was no less distinguished by brave exploits, and commercial activity. Bartoloméo Diaz, crossed the line, traversing the torrid zone, "a region of mystery and horror, and supposed to be uninhabitable;" discovered the Cape of Good Hope, which he named Cabo Tormentosa, and returned to Portugal, to spread a report of the probability of unknown lands lying beyond the stormy ocean he had explored; and to excite the eager enthusiasm

of his countrymen for an extension of their territory, and commerce. It was Don John II., in anticipation of future enterprise and conquest, who changed the name which Diaz had bestowed on the newly-discovered territory, into the more auspicious one of Cabo de Buen Esperanza. The royal expectations were not disappointed: in the second year of the reign of Emmanuel the Great, 1497, Vasco de Gama succeeded in doubling the Cape, and carried the flag of Portugal in triumph over the seas which led to the Indian shores, and landed at Calicut, May 22nd, 1498. The Malabar coast next acknowledged the sway of Portugal. Emmanuel the Great, transported by the glory and importance of this grand exploit, bestowed the title of Conde de Vidiguera, with the title of Admiral of the Indian Seas, on the fortunate Vasco. The Duque de Albuquerque* was despatched to Calicut, with the title of Viceroy of the Indies; and a rapid succession of victories and successes raised the glory of Portugal to high renown. Goa was conquered by the valiant Viceroy (1512); who further annexed Malacca, Aden, and Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, to his master's crown. The empire of Brazil was also annexed in this reign by the Admiral Pedro Cabral, who planted his flag on this territory, April 24th, 1500. During the reign of Don John III. (1521), the islands of Japan† were discovered;

* Don Alfonso de la Cueva, Duque de Albuquerque, surnamed The Great. The duke died in 1515, on board a ship off Goa, on his return from his expedition to Ormus.

† Or Jafanapatam, as these islands were named by the Portuguese.

and Goa was heroically defended by Don Constantino de Braganza, then Viceroy of the Indies, with 600 men, against 100,000 Mussulmen. This victory had been followed by the assault and capture of Damaun in 1559, under circumstances of valour seldom surpassed.*

These glorious reminiscences were enough to inspire the enthusiastic emulation of a young, and gallant prince. His predecessors, John I. and Alfonso V., had led their armies to battle and conquest: but the luxury of riches, and unparalleled prosperity, had somewhat enervated the chivalry of Portugal during the reign of his grandfather; who loved literature and church festivals, more than the hardy exploits, which had elevated the small realm of Portugal into a dominant power of Europe. Don Sebastian at first contemplated an expedition to Goa; but the tears and expostulations of Doña Catherina at length caused the project to be relinquished,—the more so, as the brave Duke Constantine of Braganza, still ably wielded that vice-regal sceptre of the Indies. To enlarge the territories of Portugal on the Barbary coast; and to emulate the deeds of Charles V. and his valiant warriors, became the settled design of Sebastian. An occasion soon occurred to give the King the opportunity he panted for, without violation of treaties; for the Portuguese settlement of Tangiers had been respected by those fierce marauders, the Moors of Barbary.

* Salazar de Mendoza—Monarquia de España, lib. 5.

The Miramamolin of Morocco Muley Mahomet Hussein, whose genius, victories and unscrupulous cruelties had built so stupendous an empire in Africa, died in the year 1557. The Moorish dominion in Africa was first held as a fief from the Saracen Caliphs.* In 1051, the successful revolt of the Chief of the Almohadas gave the empire of Mauritania Tingitana to the princes of that dynasty; who ruled with supreme power, and glory until the year 1210, when family feuds intervening, the Imperial race, which descended from the conquerors of Spain and Portugal, became extinct. The crown was then seized by Abdulac, Prince of the Merinis, who conquered the kingdom of Fez, and otherwise extended the limits of his empire. This dynasty ruled over the Moors of Africa until the year 1481, when the reigning Caliph Elotas was assassinated by the Xerife† Hussein. This Hussein was a prince of Numidia, learned in philosophy, and the occult sciences, and a devout Mussulman, who aspired to the office of priest, as well as that of a warrior. The murder of the Caliph Elotas was avenged by one of his officers, Said Oataz, governor of Arzilla. Hussein was defeated, and compelled to retreat back to the solitudes of Numidia. The Xerife had three sons: Hamet, and Mahomet, the two elder princes, however, alone rendered themselves redoubt-

* Of the race of Benhumayas, descended from Zeynebis, second daughter of the Prophet.

† The term signifies great and potent Lord.

able by the sword; and potent over the people of Mauritania by their religious zeal, and the revelations which they pretended to receive direct from the Prophet. Said Oataz, meantime, was crowned King of Fez; and his son King Mahomet eventually cancelled the decree of banishment pronounced against the Xerife Hussein, and his sons. Hamet was promoted to a chair in the Mussulman college of Madaura; while Mahomet was appointed tutor to the princes, sons of King Mahomet Oataz of Fez. The apparent modesty, and devotion of the sons of the Xerife blinded the King to the ambition, and secret designs of these princes. They first distinguished themselves by zealous denunciations against "the Portuguese dogs," who threatened to overrun the province of Tetuan. The "zeal of these holy sons of the Prophet" seemed daily to receive stimulus; at length they craftily desired permission from their royal master to enrol bands of followers, and to devote themselves to the extirpation of the unclean invader. In an evil hour the King of Fez yielded to their importunities, not daring, perhaps, to resist what was popularly deemed an impulse inspired by the Prophet. Hamet and Mahomet thenceforth gathered together followers, small in number at first, and undisciplined. Swiftly, however, formidable hosts thronged under their banners, to combat the Christians; fortresses were wrested from the Portuguese; while the warlike tribes of the Desert were humbled and chastised. At length Hamet seized

Morocco,* and declared himself governor of that territory; while Mahomet established himself over the province of Suthul. The princes after a time refused taxes or homage to their liege lord the King of Fez; and finally, they declined to become tributary, and assumed royal titles. The King thereupon declared war against his rebellious subjects; and was defeated in a bloody battle, with the loss of all his cannon and seraglio, fought in the province of Tedla. The terror of their arms after this decisive action established the independence of the princes; and compelled the submission of many tributary tribes. The brothers, however, soon became jealous of each other; and for the ensuing eight years a bloody war was waged, which ended in the defeat of Prince Hamet, and of his protector the King of Fez, to whom he had promised to become tributary. Mahomet Hussein besieged Fez, and dethroned and captured the King; while the unfortunate Hamet, and his family were sent to Morocco, and strangled in prison. All Mauritania, Fez, and Numidia then saluted Mahomet as Emperor; and his career met with no check until 1557, when, quitting Morocco to quell an insurrection in Fez, he was assassinated in a solitary mountain pass, by order of Hascen, son of the Bey of Algiers, who suspected the Emperor of hostile designs on Tunis.†

* Mahomet, second prince of the dynasty of Oatazes, had removed the seat of empire from Morocco to Fez. Miramamolin Mahomet Hussein I. re-established his court in the ancient capital.

† De Thou—Hist. de son Temps. Mariana—Hist. de España, lib. 7. Mendoza (Hieronymo), Jornada de Africa. Lisboa, anno 1607.

Mahomet left four sons, Abdalla, Muley Maluc,* Muley Mumen, and Muley Hamet. He decreed that each of these princes should in turn succeed to the throne of Morocco: and not until after the decease of the princes, was the crown to revert to the posterity of Abdalla, his eldest son, and heir. The Emperor Abdalla, immediately on his accession, set at nought the testamentary injunctions of his father; and to defeat them, he divided the realm between his sons, who governed during his lifetime as satraps, while Abdalla gave himself up to shameful excesses in the depths of his palace at Morocco. In 1573, the Emperor died, leaving his empire to his eldest son Muley Mahomet, in defiance of the orders of his father. The new Emperor immediately caused his two brothers to be strangled; and sent an assassin to poniard his uncle Mumen, governor of Tremisen. Muley Maluc, the rightful heir, according to the will of Mahomet I., fled from Africa, imploring the succour of Philip II. against his nephew, and visited Valencia to ask the protection of the Viceroy, but without success. He next repaired to Constantinople, to plead his cause before the tribunal of the Sultan Selim II. Muley Maluc there enlisted under the Turkish banner, and fought valiantly at Lepanto, to signalise his zeal, and to avenge himself for the slight

* The real name of this prince, afterwards so celebrated, was Muley Andelmelic. He had long showed affection for Christian counsels in politics; and his father one day bitterly reproached him with this preference, and called him "Maluco," which signifies "Servo."—Mendoza, Jornada de Africa.

which he had received from Philip II. On the accession of the Sultan Amurath, the latter despatched letters to the Bey of Algiers, commanding his vassal to aid the designs of Muley Maluc against the usurper of Morocco. Thus reinforced, the Prince returned to Africa, and commenced a sanguinary war, to dethrone his nephew. The personal gifts, and valour of Maluc are described as great. He was a prince of beneficent disposition, learned, gracious, and of admirable heroism, and resource. The favourite son of his father, Maluc had learned the art of warfare, from the terrible sword of the great Emperor. The son of Abdalla, on the contrary, was ferocious in disposition, and repulsive of countenance; his mother was an Ethiopian slave; and as he had inherited her tawny complexion, Mahomet was surnamed El Negro. Mahomet, during this interval, aware of the tremendous contest before him, made overtures to the Portuguese court, and implored the alliance of King Don Sebastiaõ. The King hailed the alliance, — descrying, as he said, security, and extension for his African colonies; a defence of the rights of primogeniture; and an opportunity for drawing his sword against the infidel. The Moorish embassy was a source of infinite tribulation to Queen Catherina; and was the occasion of an appeal to La Princesa, to use her influence with King Philip, "*que se allanarse la materia de Maluco,*" if she wished her son to accept the hand of any of the royal damsels proposed.

The autumn of the year 1573 the King spent in

his province of Algarve. He had caused a fleet to be assembled off Cape St. Vincent; and to the horror of the Queen-mother he announced his resolve to proceed early in the following spring to inspect his fortresses of Tangiers, and Mazagan; and to make personal inquiry concerning the prospects of "Maluco." During his progress through the realm, Sebastian visited the battle-fields, distinguished by the victories of his ancestors over the Moors—inflaming his enthusiasm by perusing local documents, containing relations of the conflict; and surveying the trophies of the fight, many of which were deposited in the treasure coffers of neighbouring churches.

While at Cape St. Vincent, Sebastian received tidings of the demise of his mother Doña Juana, after a short illness at the Escorial. The air of Philip's badly-drained capital, seems to have been peculiarly noxious to the princesses of his family. The bleak wind from the Guadarrama sierra also swept over Madrid: in winter the cold was, therefore, intense; in summer the inhabitants were scorched with heat, parched by dearth of water, and choked by the billows of fine sand rising from the arid plains in the vicinity of Philip's new metropolis. The lungs of Doña Juana suffered from these sandy particles; added to which her vigils in the newly constructed chapel of the Escorial, had greatly affected her health. Juana died at the age of thirty-eight: she was interred before the high altar of her nunnery of Our Lady of Consolation de Las Descalzas of Madrid,

where her superb mausoleum may still be seen. Her rapt devotion, and sincere piety are themes upon which the chroniclers of her life love to dwell: and doubtless the career of Doña Juana was outwardly blameless. Her administration as Regent of Spain, which lasted from the year 1554 to 1559, elicited the commendation of that master of diplomacy, King Philip her brother. Juana left all her rich personalty to her convent; besides a sum of money to its abbess, Doña Inez de Borgia, sister of the noted Jesuit Borgia, ex-Duque de Gandia.

Don Sebastian commanded a general mourning for his mother throughout the realm of Portugal; though the demise of Doña Juana did not arrest active preparation for his voyage to Tangiers. Subsequently, the King erected a magnificent monument to the memory of his mother in the chapel of the royal monastery of Belem. Masses were said for the repose of her soul in all the churches of the realm. Soon after the death of La Princesa, Fray Nicolas Factor was saying a mass on her behalf, when the glorified figure of Juana appeared before him, accompanied by St. Mary Magdalene, St. Inez, and St. Dorothea,—a vision, which was thankfully accepted, as an intimation that Su Alteza no longer needed the intercessions of the Faithful.

CHAPTER II.

1573—1578.

DON SEBASTIAN, AND HIS MOORISH CRUSADE.

The sanguine anticipation of King Don Sebastian was not gratified by the review of his fleet lying at anchor off Cape St. Vincent.* The ships were badly manned, and badly provisioned; while the sailors showed no enthusiasm for the crusading designs of their royal master. Sebastian being compelled to suspend his expedition for a few months, in order to be present at the funeral rites solemnized for La Princesa his mother, returned to Lisbon to the great joy of Queen Catherina, who hoped that obstacles might combine to render the royal voyage ultimately impossible. The demeanour of the King, however, gave his grandmother little satisfaction; his Majesty had become reserved, and more peremptory in his mandates. He applied himself with assiduity to matters of finance, principally as regarded the

* Historia Chronologica do reyno de Portugal. Contem a morte do el rey Don Jaõ o tercera d'este nome nascimento, vida, e perdicaõ do el rey Dom Sebastiaõ, etc., etc. MS. Bibl. Imp. Ancien Fonds Français, 1254. Como el rey passar a Africa, etc.

revenue, and expenditure of his colonies; while his confessor Padre Gonzalez appeared to have lost influence over the royal mind. Sebastian also diligently inspected his militia: a detachment of these newly-levied bands had been sent to Algarve to attend his Majesty to Africa, in order that the men might become familiarised with the climate, and aspect of the country; and on their return cheer, and astonish their comrades with marvellous incidents of their expedition. These levies, however, arrived in such disarray, as to have greatly kindled the angry dissatisfaction of the King. In fact, the ministers and the Queen-mother, not presuming openly to thwart the headstrong resolutions of Sebastian, did all in their power to oppose obstacles. Don Alvaro de Castro was still the favourite companion of the King: perceiving that the surest way to retain his influence was to humour the schemes of his master, he skilfully aggravated Sebastian's discontent. This young cavalier aspired to a post in the cabinet; but Don Alvaro was ambitious, and incompetent, and had lately presumed to offer counsel to the sovereign, entirely at variance with that of his ministers. The only personage who had influence with Sebastian was his grandmother Queen Catherina. It seemed, therefore, a propitious opportunity during the sojourn of the King in Algarve to infuse the suspicion that ministers were audaciously practising on the royal credulity: and that while they seemed to obey, they, "in fact, never intended the King's pious, and glorious pro-

jects to be accomplished." "The Jesuits, Alteza, who are masters of your court, and government—for are not they protected, and maintained by Doña Catherina?—will not permit this expedition. They design to strengthen their power in the present colonial possessions of V. Alteza, for which, all the money you have to dispose of is requisite to found fresh communities of the Order. Again, the holy fathers, admirable as they prove themselves as instructors of youth, are ignorant of the first principles of diplomacy, or of national legislation. They, and their *protégé* Don Martin Gonzalez have enacted severe sumptuary laws, which press hardly on commerce; and thus have occasioned the present dearth of specie throughout Portugal, so that you now find yourself prevented from undertaking a war which would confer immortal glory on your reign!" These observations were applauded by the rash young Sebastian; and he asked the advice of his subtle counsellor, upon the best means of rescuing the kingdom from the tyranny of his present ministers. Don Alvaro unhesitatingly gave it as his opinion, "that the Jesuit fathers should be restricted to the government of souls; as in spiritual exercises they were unrivalled, and gave proof of edifying progress in the training of youth." He counselled the King to dismiss the secretary Gonzalez, and to reinstate Don Pedro de Alcazova, whose zeal during the reign of Don John III. had organised the glorious mission of Francisco Xavier, Apostle of the Indies. This done,

no impediment would check the zeal of the president of the council, Don Christovaõ de Tavora; to whom, Don Alvaro advised his Majesty to have recourse on those supreme occasions when the advice of the Queen-mother had been usually requested. As a proof of the correctness of his accusation, Don Alvaro invited his Majesty to make estimate of the fitness of Martin Gonzalez to discharge the functions of minister of war to the colonies, by the condition in which he might find his African strongholds.* Don Sebastian imbibed these treacherous suggestions; but dissembled his resentment until after his return from Barbary,—an expedition, he was now in tenfold degree more resolved to undertake.

The King, meantime, issued an edict in which he forbade his subjects to entitle him longer as Alteza; and ordained that the future title of Portuguese sovereigns should be "Faithful Majesty," by which he ordered himself to be designated in all future documents of state.† Sebastian also altered the shape of the Portuguese crown, and adopted imperial emblems,—all with the view, it was believed, to the future subjugation of the Moorish empire. In person Don Sebastian is described as possessing a majestic stature, and presence; "His Majesty has sandy hair, small blue eyes, a large mouth, and limbs robust

* De Thou, Hist. de son Temps. No. 65. Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa—Tercera Parte.

† Barbosa de Machado—Biblioteca Lusitaniaõ—article, Sebastiaõ Rey de Portugal. The Pope had conferred on the sovereigns of Portugal the title of "*Filho obedientissimo da Igreja.*"

and fitted for athletic exercises." "The King, at this period," writes one of his Portuguese chroniclers, "was active and robust, and excelled in manly sports, such as quoits (truecos), tourneys, and bull-fights. Neither the heat of summer, nor the cold of winter deprived him of these diversions." *

Fate seemed ever wantonly to lure the King onwards to the accomplishment of his crusading designs. In the spring of the year, the governor of Tangiers resigned office. His Majesty conferred the post on Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, son of the valiant Duke de Beja. Under pretext that the African garrisons required recruiting, the King decreed that a body of 2000 troops, including several of the newly formed militia regiments, should sail under the banner of the Prior. The standards of this little army were solemnly consecrated with great pomp, in the Church of Nossa Senhora de Belem, and the expedition set sail about the end of June, 1575.† The King then retired to Cintra, under pretext of the heat; but, in fact, to carry out secretly his resolve to embark for Africa. Part of the fleet lay at anchor off the coast near Cintra, under the command of Don Fernando de Noronha, a cavalier of influence and wisdom, and of Don Jorge de Albuquerque. Sebastian went secretly on board the flag-ship during the night of August 14th, and commanded the Admi-

* Barbosa—Biblioteca Lusitaniaõ.

† Barbosa de Machado.—Memorias del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, cap. 27, parte 3, pp. 594, et seq.

ral Don Fernando on his allegiance to put to sea. Before he embarked, the King despatched missives to several young noblemen whom he especially favoured, desiring them to give him secret rendezvous at ports which he indicated. At Cascaes his Majesty was consequently joined by the Duque de Aveiro, and by his favourite, the Conde de Vimiosa. On the 20th of August, Sebastian arrived safely and in high spirits off Cape St. Vincent, where other noble cavaliers joined the expedition, including the bishops of Porto, and Algarve.

When the departure of the King was known, the greatest consternation prevailed in Lisbon. No dispositions had been made for the government; and Sebastian's most prudent counsellors were aghast at the wildness of the royal escapade. Sebastian, however, sent letters, dated from on board "our flag-ship, Bay of Lagos, August 20th," and which afforded consolation to his subjects; who were as yet ignorant of the destination of their King. His Majesty forwarded powers to his uncle the Cardinal-Infant to conduct the government during his brief absence. He also wrote to his grandmother, and to the Infanta Doña Isabel, informing them of his intention.* The tribulation of Doña Catherina was intense; and she was with difficulty prevailed upon to relinquish her design of following the King to Tangiers. She, however, wrote pressing letters to

* Barbosa de Machado.—The Infanta Isabel was the widow of Don Duarte, Duke de Guimaraens; and aunt to the King.

her grandson, imploring him to return. Mandates were issued by the council commanding prayers to be offered throughout the kingdom for the safety of his Majesty; whose expedition was beset, in the minds of his subjects, with all manner of imaginary peril.

Sebastian, however, did not linger in the Bay of Lagos for the arrival of the missives of admonition which he knew would beset him. With a good heart, and fervent enthusiasm he continued his voyage, and landed at Ceuta on the 3rd of September, where he was magnificently received by the governor, the Marquis de Villaréal; and where he at length regaled his eyes with a survey of the land whereon he had resolved to win deathless renown. The King eagerly inspected his fortresses and settlements; and took many excursions into the surrounding districts—all with a view to his future campaign. The forts of Azamor and Alcazer were especially coveted by the Portuguese government; also the important port of Larache.

The Xerife of Morocco, Mahomet el Negro, meantime, paid a furtive visit to Tangiers, to confer with, and offer homage to the young sovereign, without whose alliance, the era of his empire seemed likely soon to terminate. Muley Maluc and his brother Hamet, joined by the tribes of the Desert, and by a powerful reinforcement of Turkish cavalry under Haseen, son of the Bey of Algiers, the assassin of the great Emperor Mahomet Hussein, advanced in force on the valley of Fez, where a sanguinary battle was

fought, March 17, 1575, which ended in the defeat, and flight of Mahomet to Morocco. Fez opened its gates to the conqueror; but Maluc had sustained such loss, that instead of pursuing his victory, he was compelled to recruit his army, and prepare for a second campaign. Mahomet made advantageous proposals to the King, and even offered Larache as the guerdon of the aid he craved. The young, and inexperienced Sebastian already deemed himself the lawgiver, and protector of the Moorish dynasty: and with more guile than might have been expected from a prince whose want of politic reserve was often lamented by his council, he carefully concealed his ulterior views respecting the acquisition of, at least, one of the kingdoms of his infidel ally. Mahomet implored immediate aid: he showed that Maluc was not now in position to carry on the contest, and that the claim of his formidable competitor might be at once defeated by the recapture of Fez. Meantime, the Duke of Braganza arrived at Tangiers, having in his zeal for the royal service enlisted at his own cost a body of 600 cavalry, and 1000 mercenaries. This welcome reinforcement enabled the King to indulge his martial ardour, by provoking various skirmishes with the Moorish garrisons of Azamor and Alcazer. His Majesty wrote to his council, and urged in strong language the immediate despatch from Portugal of a force, powerful enough to enable him to take the field in earnest. The royal missive brought in reply, a statement signed by the Cardinal Regent,

the Queen, and the chief members of the council, demonstrating the impossibility of this measure. The balance in the exchequer, they proved, sufficed only to cover the current expenditure: fresh levies of soldiers and seamen had to be made; which enrolments demanded time and ample funds. The imprudence of attacking a Prince, the ally of the Sultan, unless in alliance with the hosts of Spain, was next represented to Sebastian; while he was reminded of the report prevalent in Europe, that Amurath II. was about to avenge the defeat of the Crescent at Lepanto, by sending an armada early during the following year to ravage the coasts of Italy, and perhaps that of Andalusia. The King, therefore, after a sojourn in his African dominions of little more than four months, sailed for Portugal, at the supplication of his Admiral Don Fernando de Noronha, and of the prelates in his suite. This joyous decision inspired the utmost content; the Bishop of Porto preached a sermon before his Majesty, taking for his text, the words "*Adolescens, tibi dico, surge!*" applying the history of the Israelitish widow of Nain to Queen Catherina.* The King, however, returned with the fullest determination to overcome every obstacle, and to remove from the government all opponents of his will. Sebastian was greeted by his subjects with rapture; the brave spirit of adventure he had displayed roused their emulation. They beheld their young King resist the

* Machado—Memorias del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, cap. 27, parte 3. The King landed at Lisbon, Nov. 2, 1575.

allurements of youth; and lead a life of ascetic simplicity beneath the roof of a palace. "*Su Alteza salia a monteer par las sierras de Africa, como si fuera en las bosques reales de la patria!*" says one of Sebastian's chroniclers.

The energetic measures pursued by the King after his arrival in Lisbon, nevertheless, took his admiring subjects by surprise. Sebastian, who had just accomplished his twentieth year, now entirely assumed the conduct of the administration. The secretary Gonzalez received his dismissal; and Don Pedro de Alcazova, a minister both sagacious and able, was recalled. The Jesuit fathers were removed from all posts under the government—but beyond this check they suffered no persecution, being confirmed in the possession of their wealthy establishments; and retaining their professorial chairs at Coimbra, and the other universities. The exile of the fathers from court was facilitated by the demise of Padre Luis Gonzalez, confessor, and ex-tutor of the King. Mortification, that Sebastian had not nominated him to hold the brief regency established during the royal absence, was supposed to have had influence in bringing on the fatal malady, which terminated in the demise of the learned father.*

Queen Catherina was partly persuaded, and partly compelled, to discard the famous preacher,

* Padre Luis Gonzalez da Camara died in Lisbon, August 15, 1575. He retired from court after the arrival thither of Cardinal Don Henrique as regent, and disdainfully refused to acknowledge his authority.

Padre Torres: the ministers dreaded the ascendency of the Queen over the wayward mind of her grandson; and were aware of the submission shown by her Majesty to the exhortations of her confessor. As for the Cardinal Don Henrique, he retired to the seclusion of his see of Evora, greatly disapproving the King's vagaries; and feeling no sympathy with a court from which letters, and festivities were virtually banished. The new minister, meantime, sought to strengthen his position, and being a man of resource, soon mastered the chief crotchet which dominated over the brain of his master. The Moorish crusade Don Pedro foresaw was inevitable, unless Don Sebastian could be dissuaded by the force of events, of which he might himself take personal knowledge—and of such impediments Don Pedro resolved that there should be no lack. He next paid assiduous court to the Queen-mother; and, as during the reign of the late King he had possessed her Majesty's confidence, he succeeded in persuading her that he had no hand in the hostile cabals of Don Alvaro de Castro, and of the Conde de Vimiosa, by whose counsels he had been recalled. In proof of which, Don Alvaro was removed from Lisbon, and appointed to a command over one of the forts on the coast of Barbary—a nomination which Don Pedro had the skill to propose, mingled with flattering expressions respecting the aid likely to be afforded in the organisation of a plan of future campaign, from the zeal of Don

Alvaro. This consideration being an unanswerable one in the estimation of Don Sebastian, his late subtle adviser had the mortification of being exiled, without deriving any benefit whatever from the political revolution he had achieved. Don Pedro next made *entente cordiale* with Don Christovaõ de Tavora, President of the Council, by asking the hand of the minister's sister, Doña Maria, for his son.

The civil war in Morocco, meantime, continued to rage. The popular qualities of Maluc won numerous adherents; and soon, he was in condition again to carry the war into the interior of the empire. Mahomet made gallant resistance, and assembled an army of 30,000 horse and 10,000 arquebusiers, with which he took the field, declining to avail himself of an aid of 3000 Portuguese from the garrison of Arzilla. A second pitched battle ensued on the 29th of June, 1576, which again ended in the signal triumph of Muley-Maluc, although the latter was able to bring into the field a force of only 28,000 men. Mahomet lost 6000 men; and his cavalry was dispersed, and put to the rout by Muley-Hamet. The Xerife escaped with difficulty from the field, and fled to Morocco. The news of his defeat had preceded him: and the people received him with such symptoms of hate and disaffection, wearied by his tyranny and exactions, that the Xerife, deeming his life in peril, collected his treasures, and escorted by his European body-guard, fled into Numidia. Maluc, meantime, with his brother Hamet, advanced

upon Morocco; the town opened its gates, and the inhabitants welcomed the conqueror with transport. The enthusiasm of the people for Maluc surpassed, if possible, that formerly shown by the inhabitants of Fez: all persons greeted the accomplished prince and warrior, who had delivered them from the grasp of their late despot. The will of the Emperor Mahomet-Hussein, was now accomplished: his son Muley-Maluc had dethroned the son of Abdalla, and reigned in his stead. The seraglio and rich effects of the deposed prince were respected; no massacres were permitted; and the reign of "Maluco" was proclaimed under joyous auspices. Mahomet, after a perilous flight, during which his life and liberty were at the mercy of various Arab sheiks, to whose guidance he was compelled to trust, at length sought refuge in the Spanish port of Peñon de Velez, from whence he sent to implore succour from his Portuguese ally.*

This last incident, and the arrival of the envoy from the Xerife Mahomet El Negro, completed the infatuation of King Don Sebastian. Mahomet offered the cession of the entire seaboard of the kingdom of Fez; and promised to sanction the establishment of a Jesuit mission within the Empire, as the price of his restoration. The glory of Portugal and of the Cross it seemed to be impossible more highly to exalt. The propositions of the deposed Xerife were laid

* Jornada de Africa.—Hieronymo de Mendoza. Lisboã, 1607. De Thou, liv. 65. Cabrera—Felipe Segundo, lib. 12.

before the privy council. The determination of the King was so apparent, that no one ventured to oppose the project. His confessor in vain suggested "that a prince zealous in reality for the propagation of the faith, would direct his arms against heretics, for their conversion, or destruction, rather than to make war upon the infidel, who knew not the saving truths of the Gospel, and therefore would be beaten with few stripes." The result of the deliberations was, that the prayer of Mahomet should be granted, provided that Philip II. could be persuaded to unite his forces to those of Portugal for the repression of the Turkish power in Africa. Don Pedro de Alcazova was immediately despatched to Madrid, to seek audience with King Philip. He was also charged to ask the hand of the eldest Infanta in marriage for the King of Portugal,—a mission spontaneously confided to him by Sebastian. As Doña Isabel had scarcely attained the age of nine years, Sebastian had leisure for some time longer to contemplate from afar, the matrimonial condition, which inspired him with dread. Don Pedro, moreover, was directed to impart to his Catholic Majesty the eager desire felt by King Sebastian for a personal interview; and to request King Philip to name a place near the frontiers of Portugal where the Kings might meet, and more fully explain, and discuss their future policy.*

* De Thou, liv. 65. Cabrera—Felipe Segundo, lib. 12. Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa—Reign of Don Sebastian.

Philip showed little interest, or enthusiasm for the schemes laid before him by Alcazova; and absolutely declined to involve himself in hostilities with the victorious Xerife Maluc. The people of Morocco, during the war of the Moriscoes in Spain, had lent no assistance to Philip's insurgent Moorish subjects; while the Spanish settlements on the coast of Africa had been treated with respect. Philip, nevertheless, dreaded lest the Sultan Amurath might avail himself of the civil war raging in Barbary, to seize that empire; a design which would be facilitated by the numerous Turkish regiments in the pay of Muley-Maluc. The health of the latter, moreover, was now languishing and precarious; while Amurath, master of the adjacent kingdom of Algiers, would have every chance of success during a war between the deposed Xerife Mahomet El Negro, and his surviving uncle Hamet—a prince of little repute. These prudential reasons, caused the Spanish council to give an adverse reply to the solicitations of Alcazova. His Catholic Majesty, however, declared his anxiety for the interview solicited by Don Sebastian; adding, that the monastery of Guadalupé seemed to him a rendezvous likely to suit himself, and his nephew, where they could conveniently discuss the matter of the matrimonial alliance solicited by Don Sebastian. Alcazova returned with this reply to Lisbon; and great preparations were immediately commenced for the coming interview between the sovereigns.

The monastery of Our Lady of Guadalupé was the

most magnificent monastic establishment of Spain, until the completion of that, of San Lorenzo del Escorial. The community was of the Order of St. Jerome, and was established in the fourteenth century, being an offshoot of the parent Jeromite monastery, that of St. Bartolemé de Lupiana, near to Guadalaxara. The miraculous image of the Virgin of Guadalupé was presented by Pope Gregory the Great to St. Leandro, Archbishop of Seville, and was by this prelate given to the abbey. Soon, miracles, and celestial manifestations, rendered the shrine of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupé celebrated. A magnificent church was built, enriched by the offerings of grateful suppliants; lands were bequeathed; and privileges granted, which raised the monastery to the summit of wealth, and importance. Its prior sat enthroned amongst the heirarchy of Spain: kings performed pilgrimages to the miraculous shrine; presented donations; and enlarged the princely domains of the community. The abbey was fortified; and its watch, and treasure towers rose amid the grim sierras, which encircled the fertile and enchanting valley of Guadalupé. Hospitals, for the sick and destitute, were appendages of the royal monastery: daily, alms were distributed, and tables spread, to cheer by bounteous fare, the spirit of the indigent. The monks of Guadalupé, moreover, rejoiced in tracts of oak forests, and in the possession of fertile *vegas*, waving with corn, and maize. Delicious gardens, fish-ponds, olive groves,

and orchards, encircled the monastery; wherever the eye rested, the soil teemed with luxuriant vegetation, amid which roamed the flocks, and herds of the prosperous community.

Such was the magnificent bourne to which King Sebastian was invited by his uncle, the Catholic King. His Majesty quitted Lisbon on the 12th of December, 1576, attended by the Duque de Aveiro, the Condes de Portalegre, Sortelha, and de Tavora, Don Joaõ Mascarenhas, Don Vasco de Coutinho, and by Don Christofero de Moura, ambassador from the King of Spain. On the 16th of December, he crossed the Portuguese frontier at Elvas, and proceeded to Badajos. Honours were lavished on the young sovereign; in every town which he entered the prison gates were opened, the keys of the town presented, and high festival proclaimed. Sebastian made his entry into Badajos on horseback preceded by Don Christovaõ de Tavora, who walked holding aloft a sword of state. At the gate of the town his Majesty was received by twenty-four civic authorities arrayed in their robes of office—crimson velvet, lined with amber satin. Before these magistrates marched six inferior officers, bearing silver maces. As the King approached, a salute of artillery, and the bells of the churches, gave him joyous welcome. At night, the streets were illuminated; and the King was serenaded by a procession of townsmen and cavaliers, carrying torches. The next day Sebastian journeyed to Talavera la

Real. Here his Majesty was received with similar magnificence; and was lodged in the house in which Eleanor, Queen-dowager of France and Portugal died. Preparations for the King's entertainment were made on a sumptuous scale: the chief effort of the authorities, however, seems to have been concentrated on the bedchamber prepared for the royal guest. Portuguese chroniclers descant with wonder on the marvellous edifice of silk, satin, and gold embroidery, prepared for the repose of their active, and luxury-hating young King. Sebastian reposed on a bed of eider down; the sheets were of the finest Holland, edged with scarlet silk embroidery; the blankets were of fine scarlet cloth, embossed with the arms of Spain; and the quilt of scarlet brocade, adorned by a border half-a-yard deep of pure beaten gold, and fringed with tags of bullion. Close to the bed was a table inlaid with valuable woods; upon which stood magnificent candelabra of silver gilt, alight during the whole night with perfumed tapers. The next day's journey took the King to Medellin; where he was entertained by Don Rodrigo de Portocarrero, Conde de Medellin. In his audience-chamber, Sebastian found a magnificent canopy and divan embroidered with seed pearls which had belonged to his deceased mother, the cushions of which bore the cipher, and device of La Princesa. In his chamber—where Sebastian slept in a bed formerly the property of the deceased Emperor Charles V. —the King found a dressing-robe, slippers, and a

toilette of costly inlaid ivory awaiting his acceptance. On the morrow, which was the 20th of December, Sebastian, escorted by his magnificent host the Conde de Medellin, arrived at the village of Madrigalejo, where the King occupied the chamber in which his great grandfather Ferdinand the Catholic expired, which was still draped with black serge, though nearly sixty years had elapsed since the demise of that prince. A collation of the rarest and most beautiful fruits was here spread for Don Sebastian, sent by the Prior of Guadalupé :—peaches, melons, grapes, and pomegranates, in perfection of colour and ripeness, attested the resources, and the skill bestowed on the gardens of the wealthy monastery.*

King Philip meantime, quitted the Escorial on the 12th of December, and journeyed leisurely towards the great convent-palace of Estremadura. His Catholic Majesty proceeded to Toledo, where he made sojourn of some days with the Jeromite community of La Sisla ; and then travelled to Guadalupé. A great suite of nobles attended King Philip, amongst whom, at the special request of Sebastian, was the Duque de Alva, the Prior of Malta Don Alfonso de Toledo, and the Condes de Pliego, Aguilar, Fuensalida, and others. Early on the morning of the 21st of December, was the village of Madrigalejo astir by the arrival of couriers from his Catholic Majesty to inquire after the health, and welfare of King Sebas-

* Barbosa de Machado—Memorias del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, t. 3. Sousa —Hist. Portuguesa.

tian. These cavaliers followed each other in such quick succession, that by the hour fixed for Sebastian to resume his journey, a *cortége* of Spanish hidalgos surrounded his coach. Between Madrigalejo and Guadalupé, Sebastian was met at intervals by detachments of Philip's courtiers, who gallantly saluted his Portuguese Majesty, and conveyed assurances of their master's desire to embrace his nephew. At length the royal coach entered a spacious meadow called Puerto Llano, appertaining to the domain of Guadalupé. A great throng of royal guards, Los Monteros de Espinosa, was presently seen advancing; and trumpets and cymbals aroused the echoes of the rocky heights called Villhurcas, which surrounded the beautiful valley of Guadalupé,—sounds significant of the approach of his Catholic Majesty. The coaches of the sovereigns stopped some distance apart, and the Kings alighted. Philip affectionately embraced his nephew, shedding tears: "Most welcome is your Majesty in this my realm!" exclaimed he. "Señor," responded Don Sebastian, "long have I prayed for this blissful interview, which by the intercession of Our Lady, I at length to-day obtain!"* The monarchs then retired a step to allow the nobles in their suite to assemble. The Spanish Ambassador at the court of Lisbon, Don Christofero de Moura, then placed himself by King Sebastian, to intro-

* Machado—Memorias del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, t. 3. Cabrera—Felipe Segundo, lib. 12. Sousa—Hist. Portuguesa, in fol. 3ra Parte: Reign of Don Sebastian.

duce the nobles of Spain, while Don Antonio Perez rendered the same office to the Portuguese lords. Philip especially greeted the Duque de Aveiro, who conversed with his Majesty covered. The eyes of Don Sebastian, meanwhile, were riveted on the features of the Duque de Alva; whom he continued to contemplate with such earnestness as to attract observation. Alva also gazed with interest on the upright, and athletic form of the young Sebastian, which reminded him of that of the great Emperor, who in his younger days also had rejoiced in the same manly sports, and loved to exhibit his agility in the joust; or his courageous daring in tracking the wild beasts of the sierras. The eyes of the old, and faithful warrior moistened, as memory carried him back to the palmy days when the court of Spain was chivalrous as well as devout; when Charles could break a lance with any knight of Europe for—Santiago y España! and still emulate the vigils of Castille's "holy duke," St. Francisco de Borgia. "*Bendito sea Dios que me ha deseado ver reliquias tan verdaderas del Emperador mi Señor!*" exclaimed Alva, as kneeling he received the embrace of Don Sebastian, who refused to suffer his hand to be kissed by the duke.* The ceremonial of the introduction of the courts being concluded, Philip led his guest to the coach which waited to convey their Majesties to the monastery. Philip gave the right to Sebastian, and insisted that he should first enter the coach. The

* Machado—Mem. del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, t. 3. Cabrera.

young King protested, and refused this honour; but his Catholic Majesty, to end the contest, nimbly stepped round to the other door, and by this device the monarchs took their seats precisely at the same moment.

At Guadalupé, the community, headed by the Prior, assembled in the splendid church, at the portal of which the royal guests were to alight. The Prior, and his chief dignitaries bore reliquaries containing precious treasures of the convent. On alighting, Philip and his guest knelt on cushions of black velvet at the portal of the church, and reverently kissed the relics: the monarchs then took their seats in the choir under the same canopy, and heard mass. The service over, Philip led his guest to the apartment prepared for him in the Prior's lodge; which Sebastian found to be as splendidly adorned, as any he had yet entered in Spain. Philip, it is recorded, had taken pleasure in superintending the array of the guest-chamber, in which, every ewer and cup was of solid gold; while his own dormitory at Guadalupé was a cell, with the usual monkish fittings of a truckle bedstead, a common wooden table, and a crucifix. The apartments of Don Sebastian were hung with costly arras, representing mystic scenes from the Apocalypse; while all the Portuguese nobles were lodged in similar state. In the evening the Kings supped privately together. On Monday, December 24th, the first political conference was holden, at which the Duque de Alva was present, on

the request of Don Sebastian. Philip then pathetically adjured his nephew not to undertake the defence of the dethroned Xerife Mahomet; or at any rate, to refrain from engaging in person in the expedition. The prudent and cautious Philip listened with scornful pity to the theories, and enthusiasm of his guest. In vain his Catholic Majesty advised Sebastian to be content for the present, to develop the resources of the noble colonies already under the Portuguese sceptre; and plainly acknowledged, that the position of affairs in Flanders prevented him from undertaking unnecessary wars; or from adopting a policy which would be a direct provocation to the Turks to renew their ravages on the coasts of Naples, and Sicily. Respecting the matrimonial wishes of Don Sebastian, Philip expressed his regret that his Majesty had not thought fit to ask the hand of Madame Marguerite de Valois; as thereby the serious calamity of the marriage of that princess with the heretic Prince of Navarre might have been averted. As for his eldest daughter the Infanta Isabel, his Majesty said, that she had been betrothed at her birth to his nephew, the Emperor Rodolph; nevertheless, "*el casamiento* (*de Don Sebastiano*) *se haria con una de sus hijas, sin suelen dir quel, por ser muy pequeña.*"*

As it was intended at midnight to perform a magnificent service to celebrate the vigil of the Nativity, the monarchs abridged their conference. The noble

* Sousa—Hist. Portuguesa, 3 Parte. Barbosa de Machado—Mem. de Rey Don Sebastiaõ, t. 3.

Gothic church at night, therefore, presented a gorgeous spectacle. The superb shrine of Our Lady blazed with gold, jewels, and with countless lights. Before the miraculous image, twelve silver lamps burned, the middle one of which was the beautiful "fanal" taken from the ship of the Turkish admiral at Lepanto, and presented to the church by Don Juan of Austria. Above, the vaulted ceiling of the choir glowed with the bright colours of a fresco, representing the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, and the Glory of Heaven; below, prostrate on the marble pavement kneeled the members of the white-robed fraternity of Guadalupé. The scene was solemn, and made deep impression, it is recorded, on more than one gallant cavalier present. The organ was played by Don Alfonso de Sylva, a cavalier of the Portuguese suite, "*destrissimo organista*," whose performance was pronounced masterly by King Philip, who was a connoisseur, like his father, in church music. Two Portuguese singers also, Domingo Madeira, and Alexandro Aguiar, members of the monastic choir, melted many to tears by the harmony of their voices, while singing the Magnificat.* On Christmas day, high mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Gasparo de Quiroga; after which, Philip gave a sumptuous banquet to King Sebastian; the viands, and fruits for which were supplied by the Prior.

The great Christian festival celebrated, the monarchs returned to their political discussions, and

* Ibid. Cabrera—Felipe Segundo, lib. 12.

schemes. Nothing could move the resolve of King Philip not to engage in aggressive warfare with the Moors of Barbary. The King also stated, that for the future he could not permit his garrisons to co-operate in the wild forays constantly made by the Portuguese, into the dominions of the Xerife Maluc. His Majesty likewise declined to "lend" Don Sebastian the aid of Alva. Wearied, however, by the importunities and reproaches of the young King, Philip conditionally promised to furnish a friendly subsidy for the pay of 5000 auxiliary troops; moreover, his Catholic Majesty agreed to lend his nephew fifty galleys, the Spanish crews of which, however, were not to be disembarked—on condition, that the expedition sailed within the next eleven months; and that the Turkish flag meanwhile, did not appear on the Mediterranean. Philip absolutely refused to enter into more precise engagements: in fact, his Catholic Majesty never intended to be involved in a crusade, the chief honours and profit of which, if any, would appertain to the Portuguese; moreover he was at that very time engaged in a correspondence with the Xerife Muley-Maluc, who had offered homage, and territory, as the price of Philip's neutrality,—a condition of affairs very satisfactory to his Catholic Majesty. Neither could Sebastian obtain more definite response to his matrimonial proposals. Philip promised to give one of the Infantas to his nephew, probably Doña Isabel; as the Emperor Rodolph his nephew, displayed inclinations for "soli

tude, and for astrology," which predilections, the King remarked, were not likely to fascinate the regard of a young, and Catholic princess. With these vague promises Sebastian was compelled to be content: but the fierce passion of the King, on more than one occasion, astonished the imperturbable Philip. Sebastian chafed and stormed however, to no purpose; the frowning sierras which bounded the valley of Guadalupé, were not more immovable than the resolves of the Catholic King. Gentle courtesies, however, awaited Sebastian from Philip's Queen, Anne of Austria; who despatched her page, the youthful Duque de Pastrana,* to carry to him a letter of compliment, with gifts of fine body-linen, amber-scented gloves, and a jewelled shoulder-knot. Sebastian also, received from King Philip several magnificent horses from the royal stud at Assegna; and a suit of Milanese armour richly inlaid. The monarchs nevertheless, were not satisfied; and prepared to take leave of each other alienated, rather than more firmly allied. The hot temper of Don Sebastian could not cope with the provoking composure ever demonstrated by his uncle; whom he on several occasions accused of contempt for his person, and prowess. Don Sebastian one day flew into a transport of anger at a remark made by Philip. When informed of the unusual piscatory dainties set

* Cabrera—Felipe Segundo, lib. 12. The little Duke of Pastrana, hijo de singular gentileza, y lindeza. The duke was the son of the Princess of Eboli; the more daring wits of the court descried in the features of the little duke a greater resemblance to Philip II., than to his alleged father, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, Prince of Eboli.

before his cavaliers at a banquet given to them by the Duke de Aveiro, Philip sententiously said, "Most true is it then, that the King my nephew is lord of the seas!"* The coolness between the Kings, at length reached to such a pitch that King Philip contemplated to excuse himself from the ceremony of conducting his nephew in state, on his road back to Madrigalejos; and to take leave of him on quitting the chapel after vespers on the evening of New Year's Day, 1577. This slight so enraged Sebastian that he passed the night in walking up and down his chamber, vowing to send a cartel to King Philip on reaching the first town of Portugal. The Spanish ambassador to the court of Lisbon, Don Christofero de Moura, being apprised of these transports, repaired at dawn, like a prudent minister, to the cell occupied by Philip, and recounted the wrathful threats which his intended omission had called forth. Philip instantly rose from his pallet: "My nephew is right: we were going to commit a great incivility: we will accompany him!" exclaimed his Majesty, composedly.† The assistance of the royal *ayudas de camera* was at once summoned, and King Philip entered the chamber of his guest. Don Sebastian, wearied with his frenzy, had fallen fast asleep. "For a man who has a long journey before him, this is an excess of sleep!" said Don Philip,

* Barbosa de Machado, t. 3.

† "Tiene razon mi sobrino; grande descuido a sido el nostro—accompanemosle!" Sousa.

shaking his royal nephew by the shoulder. Sebastian started from his slumbers, and was aghast at beholding the equipment of his uncle, who informed him that all the Spanish cavaliers at Guadalupé were waiting below to escort him: and that the brotherhood were already marshalled to bid him farewell. The anger of Sebastian was as easily appeased as excited: the after-thought of King Philip was frankly accepted, and the monarchs parted in amity.

The King arrived safely at Lisbon on the 13th of January, 1577. From this period nothing was debated or projected in the Portuguese cabinet, but the method how to compass the infatuated projects of Don Sebastian. The minister Alcazova trusted always to accidents to frustrate the design: he built on the certain failure of Philip's promises; on the sailing of the Turkish fleet; on the impossibility of achieving the requisite levies of men and money; and, finally, on the speedy demise of Muley-Maluc. The first step was to raise funds—an edict consequently, appeared decreeing a heavy capitation tax on the people and nobles. This innovation brought a manifesto from the pen of Francisco de Melo Conde de Tentguel, in which he demanded exemption for the patrician class from the impost; hinting that any enterprise on the cherished privileges of the *noblesse*, might be followed by rebellion.* As ancient immunities granted to the nobles, were really

* De Thou, lib. 65.

violated by the decree, Sebastian had no resource but to amend his edict: the pecuniary pressure, therefore, fell chiefly on the people and clergy. The latter, aware that the Pope favoured the crusade, offered an aid of 50,000 gold crowns; and a further subsidy of the same amount, during the course of the following year. A large cargo of pepper,* meanwhile, arrived in port from the Indian colonies: this was regarded by Sebastian as an extraordinary aid; and orders were issued for the transport of the cargo to Leghorn, where the proceeds of its sale were to be expended on the enlistment of Italian recruits for the expedition. Tempestuous winds, however, detained the vessels in port for several weeks, much to the grief of the King. The Pope meantime, published a brief, highly commending the pious designs of his "Faithful Son," and conceding extraordinary ecclesiastical aids in support of the expedition: his Holiness also awarded the palm of martyrdom to all persons who fell in the holy conflict. Gregory XIII., moreover, addressed letters to the Catholic princes of Europe; and specially to King Philip in the hope of rousing the torpid zeal of that prince. On the strength of this recommendation Don Sebastian again made urgent overtures to the Spanish cabinet. Philip through his ambassador replied, "that he would adhere to the promises made at Gaudalupé, provided the expedition sailed during

* The sale of pepper, and spices from the colonies, was a government monopoly.

the course of the present year." Complications, his Majesty said, were looming over the politics of the Netherlands, which rendered it impossible to pledge a single Spanish ship, soldier, or pistole, beyond that period. At the same time Philip secretly directed his ambassador, to time the communication of this, his assent to his previous promise, so that the lateness of the season should render a voyage impossible during the year 1577.

The Xerife Muley-Maluc, meantime, had strengthened his throne by virtues, and by true paternal rule. A mysterious and wasting malady, to the great grief of his subjects, seemed however, slowly consuming his life. Muley-Hamet, only brother of the Xerife, to whom the crown descended according to the will of the Emperor Mahomet Hussein, was a prince comparatively incompetent, and vacillating; and who had inherited, moreover, the sanguinary spirit of his father. Maluc courageously wrestled with his malady; wishing to bequeathe a peaceful sceptre to his brother, whose military *savoir* he distrusted, he sought to avert the storm which menaced his dominions. To Philip II. he first addressed himself, by the advice of a renegade, one Gasparo Redouano, who had great influence in the councils of the Xerife. Maluc solicited peace and alliance; and offered to make any reasonable concession to purchase the good-will of his Catholic Majesty. The answer of the Spanish cabinet was propitious: Philip repudiated hostile interests; and promised to use his influ-

ence with the King of Portugal to induce the latter to give similar pacific assurances. Maluc next addressed his young and ardent foe, in a letter of manly expostulation, and entreaty, offering to grant all possible privileges to the Portuguese colonists. He explained the law regulating most of the Moorish dynasties, which provided for the succession of all the sons of a monarch, before the crown reverted to the descendants of the eldest son of the latter. To neutralise the effect of this appeal, the dethroned Xerife Mahomet surrendered the fort of Arzilla to the governor of Tangiers; and offered annual tribute for his kingdoms to the Portuguese crown—the first step towards his possession of the diadems of Fez and Morocco, as Don Sebastian observed.

The King, meantime, was recruiting for soldiers in foreign countries. Don Juan Gomez de Sylva was sent to the Grand Duke of Tuscany to request permission to make a levy of 4000 men in the Florentine States. Sebastian d'Acosta was despatched to ask the aid of the Prince of Orange, who unexpectedly promised, and moreover sent 4000 Germans to Lisbon; believing that this heretic aid was likely to interrupt the friendly relations between the crowns of Spain, and Portugal. At home, Don Miguel de Noronha, Don Diogo de Siquiera, and Don Vasco de Sylva, received commissions to enrol troops for the service of his Majesty. Ten thousand men were thus levied, after extraordinary effort and expenditure. A few recruits were captured on the

Spanish border: King Philip however promptly commanded the dispersion of these bands. Meanwhile, Philip commissioned an officer of experience to proceed to Morocco, and to report upon the aspect of affairs. Don Francisco de Aldana, by order of his Catholic Majesty, visited Lisbon on his return to lay the result of his survey before King Sebastian. He reported, that the dethroned Xerife Mahomet was hated by his late subjects, who were faithfully attached to Maluc, whom they revered for his prowess, accomplishments, benevolence, and attachment to his faith: he stated, that the people of Morocco contemplated with solicitude the failing health of their sovereign, whom they exhorted to ward off the menaced invasion, by inducing Amurath to make descent upon the Portuguese coasts. Aldana spoke highly of the discipline of the Moorish army; and of the strength of their forts. Don Sebastian listened, but disbelieved; holding the report to have been made in conformity with the views of King Philip, who envied Portugal the glory of the crusade! His Majesty, therefore, presented a gold chain to Don Francisco, and dismissed him with the challenge "to join the ranks of the chivalry of Portugal, in order to record their exploits on the plains of Africa."* As a last effort, King Philip, aware of the veneration felt by King Sebastian for the Duque de Alva, commanded the latter to write, and admonish his Majesty

* De Thou, liv. 65. Cayet, Chron. Septénaire. Sousa, Hist. Portugueza.

on the perils of such an expedition; and on the almost certain overthrow likely to befall a young and inexperienced leader, in an African campaign, against so practised a warrior as the Miramamolin Muley-Maluco. Finding that the remonstrances of the veteran Alva produced no impression on the wayward mind of Don Sebastian, King Philip finally sent the Duke of Medina Celi to Lisbon at the commencement of the year 1578, to express his regret that it was no longer in his power to furnish the aid he had promised for 1577,—that the war in Flanders had broken out with unexpected virulence; and that as he had concluded a treaty for three years with the Grand Turk, to assail the Moorish kinsmen, and allies of Amurath would be an infringement of that treaty. His Catholic Majesty observed that the Spanish settlements were respected, and no outrages committed on the subjects of Spain in Africa; but if he engaged in hostilities, his fort of Oran would be attacked by the corsair Uccialli Bey of Algiers; and that a crusade to reinstate the tyrant Mahomet el Negro, was a project worthy of the brain of a knight-errant, rather than of that of a politic and wise prince. These remonstrances served only to render Sebastian more obstinate. He deemed himself deceived and thwarted, and was resolved to persevere—especially, as the German auxiliaries had arrived, and galleys from the Indies had come into port bringing a portion of the Indian revenue. Don Diogo de Sousa was therefore named Admiral of the

fleet, and Don Christovaõ de Tavora colonel-general of infantry, with powers of supervision over every military detail of the expedition. Don Pedro de Alcazova, seeing that nothing could divert the resolve of the King, now entered heartily into the royal designs; though privately, he still deprecated their folly, and foretold the disastrous finale. The Portuguese fleet consisted of five galleys, fifty smaller vessels of war, and of nine hundred flat-bottomed boats. By the middle of April, 1578, the ships lay off Lisbon; and Sebastian went daily on board to superintend their equipment. During the month of May the King was gratified by an unexpected reinforcement of 500 Italian troops under the leadership of the Irish adventurer, Thomas Stukeley, whom the Pope had created Marquis of Leinster. To avenge the secret support given by Queen Elizabeth to his rebels of the low countries, Philip II. promoted the civil war in Ireland, and aided the Earl of Desmond and others who were in arms against English supremacy, with loans of money, and by levies. The Catholic King therefore, conjointly with Pope Gregory XIII., had furnished funds for the enrolment of 500 Romagnese troops. These levies embarked at Genoa, and touched at Lisbon on their way to Ireland, when Sebastian opened negotiations with Stukeley; and by the bribe of one month's pay succeeded in diverting the destination of the troops. As his Holiness approved, King Philip presumed not to express dissatisfaction, lest his opposition to the crusade should be

attributed to indifference to the Faith. He moreover granted a permit to eighty Spaniards, who had enlisted under the banner of Stukeley, to join the Portuguese expedition.

King Sebastian next offered the regency of the realm, during his absence, to Cardinal Don Henrique. His eminence, however, excused himself from the responsible office, under plea of age, infirmity, and disapprobation of the policy about to be pursued by his Majesty. "If your Majesty had a son to succeed to these realms, the peril and impolicy of your present course would be diminished." The missive was delivered to the King by Don Francisco de Sá, and by Don Juan de Mascarenhas, who joined their protest to that of the Cardinal: "even should your Majesty, by the grace of God, survive to return to these realms, having humbled the Infidel, the colonies and possessions of Portugal will be hereafter in imminent peril from the hostility of the Turks, and the secret discountenance of his Catholic Majesty, who will surely resent the disregard shown for his prudent counsels." Sebastian therefore, nominated four commissioners, to whom he intrusted supreme powers. These co-regents were, Don Jorge de Almeida, Archbishop of Lisbon, Don Pedro de Alcazova, Don Francisco de Sá, and Don Juan de Mascarenhas. Meanwhile the chivalry of Portugal prepared to follow the King to the plains of Africa. Some young nobles mortgaged their lands; others incurred vast debts, to purchase

splendid equipments after the model of the cavaliers of Castile — an innovation upon Portuguese fashion, which was deemed an omen of disastrous import. "To behold these Portuguese lords, it might have been imagined that they were preparing for some pompous entry into a captured city. Silken garments were amongst the least valuable of their luxuries. Gold, silver, and jewels shone with astonishing profusion on their habits, horses, tents, and housings."* The royal standard was intrusted by the King to Don Louis de Meneses, after it had been solemnly blessed, and consecrated in the cathedral of Lisbon.

These preparations filled the mind of Queen Catherina with anguish, and foreboding. The Queen dreamed at this period that her brother the Emperor Charles V. appeared to her, holding with a melancholy countenance, the banner of Portugal torn and dabbled in blood. A communication from her confessor Fray Luis de Moura completed the despair of Catherina, who fainted during the interview, and was carried to her bed, from whence she never more rose. The holy father informed the Queen that her deceased husband Don John III. had thrice appeared to him at midnight, and commanded him to exhort her Majesty to prevent his grandson from leaving Portugal; for that the issue of a battle with the Infidel would be disastrous, and end in the

* De Thou, lib. 65. The historian was contemporary with the events which he relates.

perdition of the King, and of his realm.* Distress and excitement brought on brain fever; and it was soon announced that the hours of Catherina were numbered. The square before the palace was soon filled by kneeling crowds, lamenting and making intercession for the life of La Madre de la Patria, as Catherina was popularly called. To her last sigh, the Queen continued to rave about her grandson's ill-omened expedition. "Oh! stay su Alteza from going to Barbary! Persuade him! Counsel him! Oh! let him not go! Oh! prevent him! Oh! tell him that it is inexpedient, and save him!" Such, it is recorded, was the perpetual plaint on the dying lips of Catherina.† The King came to see, and to take leave of the Queen, but she did not recognise him: her wailing cry, "*Oh! naõ passe su Alteza em nenhuna modo a Barberia—aconselhem—lhe! Oh! que naõ passe!*" fell drearily on the royal ear, as the young Sebastian, with tears, gazed for the last time on the face of his truest, and most devoted counsellor. Catherine died during the night of the 12th of February, 1578, in the Palacio Enxobregas, in Lisbon, at the age of fifty: she was royally interred by the side of her husband, in the monastery of Santa Maria de Belem.

The grief felt by Don Sebastian acted as an incentive to hasten on his fatal preparations. On the 17th of June, 1578, after attending high mass

* Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa, tercera parte.

† Barbosa de Machado, Mem. del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, t. 3.

in the cathedral of Lisbon, the King went on board his admiral's galley, and there remained until the expedition sailed—a period of eight days. Sebastian was accompanied by the little Duque de Barcelos heir of Braganza, by Don Antonio Prior of Crato, and by Don Duarte de Meneses, governor of Tangiers, and a camp-marshal. Amongst the brilliant escort of nobles, who at the bidding of their King attended him on the campaign, were the Condes de Vimiosa, Monsanto, Tentguel, Linahres, Mira, Vidigueira,* Sortelha, and Tavora. The Spanish ambassador, Don Juan de Sylva, received orders from his court to follow, and report the incidents of the campaign. Sebastian was also attended by the Baron de Alvito, the Marquis de Ferreira, the Duque de Aveiro, Don Jorge de Lancastro, and by the Bishops of Porto, and Coimbra. The expedition consisted of 10,000 Portuguese, 1000 mercenaries under Don Alfonso de Aguilar, 4000 Germans enlisted under the banner of Martin de Bourgogne Sieur d'Amberg; and of 500 Italian troops led by Stukeley *soi-disant* Marquis of Leinster,—in all, a force exceeding 15,000 men. The artillery, consisting of 12 guns, was under the command of Don Pedro de Mesquita, Commander of Malta: the expedition also included a force of 10,000 pioneers.

Evil portents were descried, and treasured in the memory of Sebastian's superstitious subjects, as attending every preparation made, previous to the

* Grandson and heir of the illustrious Vasco de Gama.

departure of the fleet from the Tagus. When Sebastian went on board his galley, a gunner was killed during the firing of the royal salute: while the Admiral de Sousa, in manœuvring his vessel, ran into a Flemish merchantman—a collision which caused damage to both ships.

As the royal fleet sailed majestically from Lisbon, amid the cheers and sobbing excitement of the people, the loud tolling of a bell, thrice repeated, was heard. The spectators shrieked, and fell on their knees, while the words, "The Bell of Villila! the Bell of Villila!" was passed from mouth to mouth amid the crowd. The miraculous knell proceeded from the tower of St. Nicholas de Xelva, an Arragonese village close to Villila on the Ebro, and always tolled without visible agency whenever death, or fatal disaster menaced a member of the royal Spanish Hapsburgs. Its last ominous toll, resounding throughout the peninsula, had echoed at the demise of the Emperor Charles V. The bell was cast, according to tradition, by a pagan Gothic King; who caused one of the thirty pieces of silver, for which Judas Iscariot betrayed his Master, to be fused with its metal. The diameter of the bell was twenty feet; it was elaborately embossed with effigies of the Crucifixion, of the Virgin Mary, and St. John Baptist. Around its outer border was an inscription in raised letters: *Christus Rex venit in pace: Deus homo factus est.* While striking the bell remained motionless; but the ponderous clapper whirled from side

to side at intervals of an hour or more, inspiring mysterious awe in every beholder of the miracle.

Not one of Sebastian's liegemen of Portugal hoped again to behold their King, after the mystic warning, boomed as a parting salute, from the belfry tower of St. Nicholas de Villila.

CHAPTER III.

1578.

DON SEBASTIAN AT THE BATTLE OF ALCAZER.

After a prosperous voyage of four days, King Don Sebastian and his fleet anchored safely in the Bay of Lagos, to embark a regiment of arquebusiers, under the command of Don Francisco de Tavora, and levied by the munificence of the chief of the great house of Tavora. The fleet then sailed for Cadiz, where the King made sojourn for seven days, to respond to the magnificent hospitality offered him by the Duque de Medina Sidonia. The chief of the house of Guzman, who himself held supreme command in the navy of Spain,* made many ineffectual attempts to divert the King from his enterprise; and expatiated, by command of his royal master, on the folly of invading the territories of the Miramamolin Muley-Maluc, to obtain that which the latter was most willing to concede, in order to purchase amity and alliance from the sovereigns of the peninsula. Sebastian, conceiving himself bound to effect the

* The Duke de Medina Sidonia was Admiral-in-Chief of the Great Armada, sent by Philip in 1588 for the conquest of Britain.

restoration of the deposed Xerife Mahomet el Negro; and pledged to found a Christian church in Morocco, evaded all political conferences, excepting such as were holden to discuss the conditions of his future matrimonial alliance with the Infanta Isabel. Sebastian was magnificently regaled at St. Lucar de Barameda, by the Duke de Medina Sidonia. Balls, tourneys, and mimic fights between naval armadas, diversified the period of the sojourn of the King, who took affectionate leave of his host on the 29th day of June, 1578, and sailed for Africa.

Sebastian left the fleet at anchor off Arzilla, and with five galleys made for the port of Tangiers, in order to reinforce that garrison; and to land Don Duarte de Meneses, his newly appointed governor of that colony. The King also trusted that his presence and the renown of his expedition, would stir up a revolt in the Moorish garrisons of Larache and Tetuan; and with that view, before rejoining the fleet he made an expedition into the district of Mazagan, accompanied by the deposed Xerife. The inhabitants of Larache, however, had confidence in the military and diplomatic tactics of their sovereign Maluc; and in reply to his assurances of speedy succour and protection, engaged to defend their town against the assault of the invader. The acquisition of Larache—a port which, by his compact with the Xerife Mahomet, was to remain under the sovereignty of the Portuguese crown—seems to have been the first military operation contemplated

by Don Sebastian. The fleet, meantime, entered the harbour of Arzilla, at which port the army was landed, as the soldiers began to suffer from dearth of water. Mahomet brought a reinforcement of 800 arquebusiers, and some Arab cavalry ; he had great experience in Moorish tactics ; and if his advice had been adopted, the fate of the expedition might have been different. In the Portuguese army no discipline prevailed. Each leader clamoured in council, and proceeded obstinately to carry out his own views. The King, it was true, was greeted with applause and submission whenever he showed himself ; but the troops soon became demoralised by the insubordination and broils of the foreign mercenaries.*

The Xerife Maluc having tendered every overture which prudence could dictate, to disarm his foe, made vigorous preparations for the defence of his empire. His wise, equitable, and liberal temper, caused him to be adored by his people, and troops ; who vehemently protested against the return of Muley Mahomet el Negro, whom they deemed a perfidious renegade from the faith, and traditions of the Prophet. The repute of the magnificence, and accomplishments of the Xerife had assembled at his court the flower of the Moorish chivalry. Many noble Grenadine families, banished from Spain by the edicts of Philip II., following the bloody war of the Alpuxarras ; and numerous descendants of those

* Barbosa de Machado, Hist. del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, t. 3. Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquia de España, libro 5.

princely houses which had contended under el Rey Chiquito for the glory of the Crescent in many a combat against the chivalry of the Catholic Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, had found refuge, and welcome at the court of Morocco. In the groves of the palace at Mequinez, the representatives of the great houses of the Zegris, Bencerrages, Gomelez, Almodanes, Zuleimas, and Alarifes, of Grenada la Rica — all "*Moros de la Moreria*"—dreamed in peaceful repose of the past splendours of their Alhambra, and of the sunny gardens of Generalife. The avenues of the palace and the harem were no longer guarded by the savage Ethiopian bodyguard of Mahomet: these mercenaries had been disbanded, to the infinite satisfaction of the people of Morocco.

The failing health of the Xerife, however, threatened to put an end to this era of public prosperity. The most skilful physicians, and sages repaired to Morocco to offer their services; but their mystical incantations, and marvellous infusions of bezoar stone, that life-restoring Elixir, could neither arrest the wasting atrophy wearing away the life, nor revive the spirits of Maluc. The malady was universally believed to have been originated by a subtle poison administered to Maluc by a favourite slave, at the bidding of the Xerife Mahomet el Negro. So rigidly did Maluc respect the law of succession by which he himself held the sceptre, that though he had several sons, he caused an oath

of allegiance to be taken to his brother, Hamet, whom he publicly recognised as his legitimate successor.

With the courage of a hero, Muley-Maluc rose from his sick-couch to organise a campaign against the invader of his empire. Maluc intrusted the government to his minister and attached friend, the Corsican renegade Redouano. Having thus provided for the tranquillity of his capital, the Xerife quitted Morocco, borne in a litter at the head of his troops. These consisted of 14,000 horse, and 3000 arquebusiers, and a battalion of infantry. The litter of the Xerife was escorted by a troop of cavaliers, whose martial aspect, and superb equipments ravished the eyes of the spectators : they were sons of—

> " Grenada bella
> Del cielo luciente estrella ! "

and all burned to avenge their expulsion from that fair Andalusian Paradise, by the overthrow of the Christian Hosts.

Surrounded by this imposing array, Muley-Maluc took the road towards Arzilla, crossing the river Mulvia. From thence the Xerife marched towards Alcazer Quiber, and encamped at a place called La Fiera del Gisvedi, where Muley-Hamet gave him rendezvous. The meeting of the brothers was affecting : Hamet threw himself at the feet of the Xerife, and passionately embraced his knees. Maluc raised his brother, returned his embrace, and then solemnly presented Hamet to the army, as his beloved, and rightful successor. The fatigue, and anxiety of his

march from Morocco had much exhausted the strength of the Xerife ; and he was conveyed to his tent without being able, as he had intended, to review the gallant reinforcement brought by Hamet, and which consisted of 22,000 horse, and 5000 arquebusiers. The following day Maluc entered Fez, reposing in his litter, and escorted by the entire army. The curtains of the Xerife's litter were closed, that the sight of his emaciated condition might not dispirit the troops ; but, by his command, Prince Hamet rode in the place of honour, in front of the litter. A few days were given to recruit the strength of the Xerife ; and at the expiration of this period, Maluc, again temporarily endowed with his accustomed energy, proved himself the skilled warrior, and tactician. A body of 4000 men was detached and sent to occupy Mazagan, and to strengthen the garrisons of Larache, and of Cape Aguer. This last operation was not effected, as the Portuguese were encamped in the vicinity of Arzilla.* Muley-Maluc next caused proclamation to be made throughout the Moorish hosts, granting permission to individual soldiers, and even to whole divisions, to quit his standard for that of Muley Mahomet el Negro, and of his Christian ally, King Sebastian. This proclamation thrice sounded through the camp ; but not a single desertion occurred.† The design of the Xerife was to avoid,

* De Thou, liv. 65. Cabrera, Don Felipe Segundo, lib. 12, cap. 6 et seq.

† Ibid. Machado, t. 3. Hist. del Rey Don Sebastiaõ.

if possible, a pitched battle with the Portuguese ; but to harass their hosts ; to cut off their provision convoys ; to devastate the country in the region of their camp ; and finally, to intercept their retreat back to the coast, where the army, exhausted by famine and maladies, would fall an easy conquest. The rapidly failing health of the Xerife, and the egregious blunders committed by the Portuguese commanders, eventually caused this system of warfare to be abandoned.

Meantime, each of Sebastian's generals presented a different plan of campaign ; and twenty-five days were lost in considering, and debating upon the opening operation of the campaign. The greatest violence prevailed in the council of the King ; and these feuds were aggravated by the indiscretion, and hasty temper of Don Sebastian. The point so hotly disputed was the best way to reach Larache. The King, and his younger and inexperienced officers, wished to march thither in battle array, through a country hostile, and devoted to the Xerife Maluc. The Conde de Vimiosa affirmed, that the Mahometan standard would be lowered at the aspect of the Christian Hosts ; that the district of Mazagan held for the deposed Xerife ; and finally, that it would be a disgrace to the chivalry of Portugal, having once set foot on Moorish soil, to re-embark, and to proceed by sea to Larache. Don Luis de Silva, the Condes de Vidiguera, Tentguel, and Tavora, replied, " that honour was the crown of prudence ; that it was

dangerous to traverse unknown tracts of country, where the army might be surprised and overthrown ; that to reach Larache from Arzilla the river Luco must be crossed ; and therefore, in default of bridges or pontoons, to traverse this broad and rapid stream, the army would be obliged to leave the coast, and penetrate, perhaps, far into the interior, to find a ford ; the which, doubtless, would be strongly defended." This opinion was seconded by Mahomet, who besought the King to embark, and convey his army by sea to Larache. Others, counselled the march of the army along the coast, keeping the fleet in sight, some vessels of which might transport the army over the river, and afford it protection if assailed in the rear by the enemy. Sebastian, with his usual inflexibility of purpose, declared himself of the opinion expressed by the Conde de Vimiosa ; and decided upon marching upon Larache, proudly declaring that the army invited attack, and that he was there to conquer, and put to flight the Moslem hosts.* Orders were, therefore, sent to Don Diogo de Sousa, to leave Arzilla with the fleet, and to sail for Larache. The army commenced its march on the 29th of July, across the hot, and sandy plains of Fez, towards Alcazer, where the Moors of the royal army informed the King that there was a bridge over the Luco ; which, if the enemy had neglected its fortification, would lead them without check to their destination. The first day the

* Hieronymo de Mendoza, Jornada de Africa ; Lisboâ, impresa por Pedro Crasbeeck, anno 1607.

army marched nine miles, and encamped in the vicinity of Menera. Here Don Sebastian was met by Don Francisco de Aldana, the envoy who had been sent by Philip II. during the early part of the year, to spy out and report the condition of affairs within the Moorish territory. Don Francisco brought his Majesty letters from the Duque de Alva, filled with sage counsels; and a present, which transported the mind of Don Sebastian with delight, as an omen of future triumph. This gift was the helmet, and armour, and mantle, worn by Charles V., on his memorable entry into Tunis, in the year 1535; and which had been consecrated by the touch of 20,000 Christian captives then delivered from bondage by the arms of the Emperor.* The march was forthwith resumed, though in deference to the advice of Alva with greater caution, and with less disarray; for the very name of Philip's stern lieutenant sufficed to restrain insubordination. On the 2nd of August, the Portuguese army forded the river Mucacen, a tributary stream to the Luco, and encamped on the banks of a little rivulet which flowed through the marshy district of Alcazer Quiber.

The same day, August 2nd, the Xerife Maluc crossed the bridge over the Luco, for which the Christian army had vainly sought, and encamped within three miles of the Portuguese camp, between Alcazer, and Larache. All relations extant, both Portuguese and Spanish, convey the impression that

* De Thou, liv. 65. Cabrera, Felipe Segundo, lib. 12. Machado, t. 3.

the armies were ignorant of their proximity, until the Christian, and Moorish outposts found themselves in collision. The greatest alarm prevailed for a time in both camps: in the Portuguese, diversity of counsel distracted the decisions of the leaders. Retreat, or a pitched battle was now inevitable. The country was admirably adapted for the manœuvring of the Moorish cavalry, which consisted of 30,000 men. Sebastian's young and inexperienced counsellors, daunted by the presence of a fierce, and formidable foe, now counselled a retreat back to Arzilla. Luis de Sylva, the Duque de Aveiro, and others, however, insisted that, brought face to face with the enemy, the repute of the Portuguese chivalry would be for ever sullied, by retreat: that the army, being already disorganised, would melt away after so disastrous a disgrace; and especially that the Moorish division, still faithful to Mahomet, would then desert to his fortunate and more able rival. This counsel agreed with the impetuous spirit of Don Sebastian. The successful issue of several skirmishes which came off in the vicinity of the camp during the subsequent two days, confirmed his Majesty's opinion of the invincible prowess of his soldiers, despite of the numerical superiority of the Moorish army.*

* Barbosa de Machado, Hist. del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, t. 3. Cabrera, lib. 12. Jornada de Africa, Mendoza, 12mo. This little book is extremely rare; and contains the most interesting details of the expedition, which Mendoza had joined, and was therefore an eye witness of the facts which he relates.

The bodily powers, meantime, of the Xerife were gradually failing, and his demise was daily expected. Few incidents of history are more affecting than the constancy, and greatness of soul exhibited by Maluc in the trial which had befallen him. His fortitude, and power of mind remained unshaken. Carried daily to confer with his warriors, the Xerife was too frequently taken back to his tent in a swoon so deathlike, that on several occasions his revival was believed to be impossible. Every interval of comparative strength the Xerife seized to show himself on horseback to his troops, to exhort them to fidelity, and to fight valiantly for the Faith. On learning the vicinity of Sebastian and his hosts, Maluc at once resolved to offer battle. Aware that his days were numbered, he believed that the existence of his dynasty and the defence of the Crescent depended on the fortunate result of the conflict he was about to wage. He distrusted the military *savoir* of Hamet; and dreaded lest the great army then gathered under his standard might dissolve, or decline to serve under a new Xerife. The imprudence of the Christian leaders had brought the armies into close proximity; and Maluc made the noble resolve, being himself on the eve of dissolution, to infuse, by his success, fresh vitality into the Mahomedan dynasty of Barbary; and to inaugurate the accession of his brother by the potent talisman of victory.

Maluc, therefore, sent for his brother, and an-

nounced his resolve. He gave him the command-in-chief of the formidable Moorish horse ; and exhorted him valiantly to fight for the crown so soon to devolve on him. Aware of the irresolution frequently betrayed by Hamet in seasons of peril, the Xerife rose on his couch, and, evoking the sacred name of the Prophet, made oath to be the first to take the life of the prince, if the latter betrayed pusillanimity, or shrunk from the duties devolving upon him in the battle-field. Proclamation then again sounded in camp, according free permission to all favouring the cause of the Xerife Mahomet el Negro, to join his standard ; which was now conspicuously displayed at the van of the Christian Hosts, as a lure to secret adherents. He then dispatched Soliman Pacha, leader of the Turkish cavalry in the pay of Morocco, to reconnoitre the Portuguese camp ; and to report the probable numbers, and disposition of the Christian force. The Xerife next addressed letters to Philip II., protesting that the contest was forced upon him ; and appealing to his Catholic Majesty to vouch for the overtures, and concessions which he had made to conciliate King Sebastian. He implored Philip to conclude a treaty of peace with his successor, the future Xerife Hamet ; and advised him that the maintenance of the kingdom of Barbary was the surest bulwark against the enterprises of the Turkish Sultan on the coasts, and dependencies of Spain.*

* Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa—Tercera Parte. De Thou, liv. 65. Machado, Hist. del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, t. 3. Cabrera, lib. 12.

Don Sebastian and his cavaliers were no less eager for conflict. The sight of the Mussulman standard roused the fiery ardour of the troops, and with shouts of execration they clamoured to be led against the foe. The safety of the ex-Xerife Mahomet became actually endangered by the fierce fanaticism roused by the harangues of the prelates in camp; and at one time it appeared so probable that the soldiers would begin their work of extermination by the massacre of Mahomet and his Moors, that the King was compelled to interfere for the rescue of his ally. Solemn services were celebrated by the Bishop of Porto; who read aloud the Papal rescript awarding the palm of martyrdom to every fortunate soldier of the Cross who should fall in conflict.

At dawn on the morning of Monday, August 4th, Sebastian drew up his army in battle array, on the wide, and marshy plain of Msharrah, adjacent to the city of Alcazer. The van of the Portuguese army was composed of volunteers—the majority, cavaliers of the noblest blood of Portugal. They were led by Don Alfonso de Tavora. To the left of this band, were the Spaniards under Don Alfonso de Aguilar; and to their right, the German corps, under D'Amberg, and the Italian levies from the Romagna. The centre was composed of Portuguese battalions, 14,000 strong, commanded by Don Michel de Noronha. The rearguard, consisting of two noted regiments, was led by Don Diogo de Siqueira, one of the most valiant knights of Portugal. The cavalry was divided into

two divisions, and flanked the centre. One *corps de bataille* was commanded by the Duque de Aveiro. The royal guidon was upborne by Don Luis de Meneses; the latter was accompanied by the little Duke de Barcelos, by the Spanish ambassador, Don Juan de Silva—who, deeming the deed holy to break a lance with the Infidel, had availed himself of so notable an opportunity. Muley Mahomet el Negro commanded a corps of reserve, consisting of 300 Numidian horsemen.

The Xerife Maluc, meantime, marshalled his fierce legions. Rumours of disaffection to the person of Prince Hamet disquieted his mind. Mahomet Saba, chief of the renegade body-guard, came one night mysteriously to warn the dying prince that the army was hostile to the succession of Hamet; and that many of the chieftains, at the suggestion of certain mollahs in camp, intended to proclaim the Xerife Mahomet el Negro, and in the heat of battle to join his standard. Maluc ranged his infantry in form of a half-moon, and directed his brother to extend the points of this crescent so as eventually to envelop the enemy. In the van Maluc placed his gallant Grenadine chivalry: these were supported by regiments of renegadoes; behind which swarmed countless legions of Moorish troops from Fez, Morocco, and Algiers. The cavalry formed in divisions of 10,000 men. The Xerife, moreover, posted a reserve of 10,000 cavalry and 5000 Turks, to act as necessity might require during the course of the action. The

Moorish forces being drawn up in battle array, Maluc rode forth on a white charger, superbly accoutred: he bore in his hand a short mace, and was greeted with acclamations.* As he passed, every banner was lowered in homage, and amid deep silence he addressed his army. His harangue was brief. Maluc exhorted his subjects to fight like brave men, and true; for that the object of the expedition undertaken by King Don Sebastian was to conquer, and annex the empire of Barbary, rather than to restore the late detested usurper Mahomet. These few words spoken, the Xerife, with unconquerable fortitude, attempted to ride along the ranks, though those nearest to him perceived that he was falling forwards on his saddle. At a sign from Hamet, the Xerife was lifted into his litter, which followed the *cortège*. Enjoining his brother not to depart from the tactics which he had prescribed, Maluc closed the curtains, and ordered himself to be transported to a short distance from the field, though within sight of the coming fight.

The supreme moment, for which Sebastian had panted from boyhood upwards, and for which he had sacrificed everything, had at length arrived:—he stood face to face in battle array against the Infidel. As far as the eye could roam, the great plain of Alcazer bristled with Mahometan scimitars and ban-

* Sahio o Maluco da tenda pelas nove horas da manhana, montando em hum cavallo ruco escuro, vestido de damasco encarnado ao uso Turquesco, com turbante na cabeza, l'alfange pendente de cintura, e sustentando em a maõ esqueorda huma pequena Maco de aco.—Machado, cap. 17, vol. 3.

ners : and the aspect of the fierce, and swarthy foe, who, with frenzied gesticulations, made the country resound with the Mussulman cry—"*La illa Alla, illa Mahomet Resoul Alla!*" would have daunted any but the valiant sons of Christendom. The army of Sebastian, nevertheless, was not equal in numbers, or discipline for the host he was about to combat. The King, however, to the last, resolved to offer battle ; and refused to accept the shame of retreat before the foe. Wisdom suggested the expediency of a retreat back to the coast from odds so overwhelming ; and from a battle-field admirably adapted for the manœuvring of the Moorish army ; where,

> "De la mar las trompetas
> Chrimias, pitos, flautos
> En voz formada le dizen
> General, embarca, embarca !"

At eight o'clock, nevertheless, the battle opened by a tremendous discharge of artillery,* which occasioned great slaughter in the Moorish ranks. The two armies soon came to close combat, when the enemy received a gallant repulse. The Moors charged again, and succeeded in breaking the ranks of their opponents, notwithstanding the efforts of Don Francisco de Tavora, and Don Diogo Siqueira. Meantime, the Moorish cavalry wheeled round from

* "Mandò el rey luego tocar al Ave Maria, ultima señal de la batalla ; e fue levantado un crucifiso en alto par el Padre Alexio de la Compañia de Jesus, a cuya vista se prostrò toda la gente que a piè estaba."—Cabrera, lib. 12, cap. 8.

both wings, and assailed their foes on every side —a shock gallantly repulsed by the Duque de Aveiro, and the Xerife Mahomet. The Portuguese fought with undaunted intrepidity; but overpowered by numbers, their horse was driven on the centre, which broke the ranks of the infantry. The Moors then swarmed around in thousands, and massacred the German regiments commanded by D'Amberg. On the left wing of the royal army, the combat raged fiercely: thrice was the standard of Portugal captured, and thrice regained by the heroic daring of the Christian chivalry. Sebastian, meanwhile, displayed signal valour: in every part of the field he was to be seen leading battalions to the charge, and fighting side by side with his soldiers. The Infidels gazed admiringly at his intrepid feats, as he fought his way through their serried ranks. The slaughter, meantime, in every part of the field was terrible. The Moors rushed on their foes, scimitar in hand, and fairly enveloped and trampled them down by numbers.* The artillery was captured after a sanguinary conflict, during which Don Pedro de Mesquita, the Conde de Vidiguera D'Amberg, Don Alexiaõ de Moreda, and the *soi-disant* Marquis of Leinster fell, covered with wounds. Meantime, a partial success retrieved the fortune of the field on the left wing, which had formed again under the Duque de Aveiro, and repulsed a

* Jornada de Africa. Barbosa de Machado—Hist. del Rey Don Sebastiaõ, vol. 3. Sousa—Hist. Portuguesa.

furious onslaught of Moorish cavalry. These squadrons were pursued by Emmanuel de Meneses, as they fled in the direction of the litter of the dying Xerife, which was guarded by Mahomet Saba and the renegade body-guard. The sound of conflict roused Maluc from the torpor of approaching dissolution : his eyes kindled, and he dashed back the curtains of his litter to gaze on the fight. The sight of his flying troops so transported the Xerife, that, to the consternation of his attendants, he threw himself from the litter, and with the aid of Mahomet, captain of the renegadoes, he mounted his charger, and rode forth to meet the fugitives. At the sight of their sovereign, the troops halted, formed again, and with fierce cries, dashed on their pursuers, whom they, in their turn, drove back to the field with slaughter. This last and supreme effort closed the career of the Xerife : he fell forwards on his horse's neck, his eyes closed, and blood gushed from his lips. Maluc slightly rallied while his officers placed him in his litter : he signed to them to draw the curtains closely ; and faintly whispered his desire that his death should be concealed until the fortune of the day was decided. This exertion brought on a syncope, from which the Xerife never rallied, though the precise moment of his demise was not ascertained.*

* Machado, t. 3. Mendoza, Jornada de Africa. Cabrera, lib. 12. De Thou, liv. 65. Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquia de Espania, lib. 5. Cayet, Chron. Septénaire, anno 1602. Ferreras, Hist. de España.

On the fatal field the massacre of the Christian hosts continued. Enveloped on every side, the Portuguese sold their lives dearly, and made great carnage in the Infidel ranks. The Duque de Aveiro, Juan de Silva, Francisco de Aldana, the Conde de Aguilar, and others, were slain in a charge valiantly made to recover the artillery captured by the enemy.* Don Alfonso de Tavora saved himself from the sharp stroke of an Arab scimitar, by proclaiming himself to be the King. He was instantly secured, and conveyed by his captors to the litter of the deceased Xerife ; but as the guards, under pretence that their master slept, refused to raise the curtains of the litter, the prisoner, by order of the renegado Mahomet, was conducted to the tents, a command which saved the life of Don Alfonso.

King Don Sebastian, meanwhile, like Francis I. on the field of Pavia, fought with valour, flying from rank to rank, encouraging, and exhorting his troops to retrieve the fortune of the day. Bewildered by the confusion and rout of the centre, and by the slaughter of their commanders, the soldiers now offered feeble resistance. The valiant, and devoted cavalry still remained true to its King, and gathered round to defend him from attack. Sebastian already

* Ibid. MS. Egerton Papers, 522, Hist. de las Cosas de Portugal, del tiempo del Rey Don Sebastian, etc. The artillery captured in this battle was found at Tetuan on the occupation of the latter place by the brave army of Queen Doña Isabel II. It has recently been restored to the Portuguese crown.

had had three horses killed under him; and might have escaped from the field but for an unfortunate incident, and his own obstinate conviction that victory, after all, would crown the Christian arms. Don Luis Meneses, who bore the royal guidon before the King, fell mortally wounded; but the flag of Portugal still waved over the field, borne at the van of the division commanded by Don Duarte de Meneses, in virtue of his office of viceroy over the Portuguese possessions in Africa. The troops rallied round the Portuguese flag, supposing that the King was there personally engaged, leaving Sebastian almost deserted, when his standard-bearer fell, amid a throng of savage foes. Surrounded by his enemies, Sebastian strove for life and honour, with a valour which elicited shouts of admiration from the knot of devoted cavaliers around. His enemies even, stayed their assault to gaze upon such prowess. Three times the King was smitten to the ground, and sprang up again to renew the combat. The Moors implored him to surrender, promising to respect his royal person. "*A liberdade real, se ha de perden com a vida!*" responded the King. Don Francisco de Mascarenhas and Don Joaõ de Portugal, valiant knights, cried to the King to lay down his arms, as fortune had deserted the Portuguese on every part of the field. The Conde de Vimiosa, at this same period, while leading a charge, was pulled from his horse, and killed by the stroke of a scimitar. Don Diogo de Meneses, and Bernar-

dino de Tavora, and Don Joaõ de Sousa died at their master's feet. Meantime, a squadron of Arab cavalry came sweeping down from a distant part of the field upon the combatants. Don Christavaõ de Tavora, the faithful friend of Don Sebastian, beholding the approach of these troops flushed with conquest and rapine, threw himself at the King's feet, exclaiming, "Oh, my King, and my lord, what resource have we now?" Sebastian raised his blood-stained sword, and pointing upwards, replied, "The refuge of Heaven, Don Christavaõ, if our deeds be worthy!* The combat was then renewed: the Moors, infuriated by resistance, threatened to slay the King. A spear-thrust meanwhile, killed Don Christavaõ de Tavora; while Sebastian, faint from loss of blood, at length fell to the ground. The King was instantly seized and disarmed. A fierce conflict then ensued amongst his captors, in which *mêlée* all the remaining Portuguese of the royal staff were massacred, excepting Don Nunez de Mascarenhas, who supported the King. As the Moorish commanders were fiercely disputing for possession of the royal captive, and the privilege of presenting him to the Xerife, Mustapha Pique, Alcayde of the body-guard, rode up. "Accursed dogs!" exclaimed the savage mercenary, "has Allah given you victory, and yet you slay each other for a

* Barbosa de Machado, t. 3, cap. 17. Cabrera, lib. 12. Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa, 3 parte. De Castro, Hist. de Portugal. De Thou, lib. 65. Mendoza, Jornada de Africa. The words of the King were, "O do ceo, Don Christavaõ, se nossus obras o merecem!"

prisoner?" and drawing his sabre, Mustapha dealt a fierce blow on the head of the unfortunate young Sebastian, whose rank, it was afterwards pleaded, was unknown to the Pasha. The blow fell on the temple of the King, severing his eye-brow and cheek.* In a moment, according to the testimony of Don Nunez de Mascarenhas, a hundred scimitars flashed over the prostrate body of the King, inflicting such ghastly wounds that his mangled remains were afterwards, with difficulty, identified. Don Nunez de Mascarenhas was the sole witness of the fate of the King, and alone deposed to his fall. The Portuguese people, however, totally disbelieved the report of Don Nunez as to the death of their ill-fated King, and held that, though apparently mortally stricken, Don Sebastian survived the fight, and rightfully challenged again their allegiance under circumstances hereafter to be related. The majority of contemporary, and subsequent historians of Portugal adopt the same view; and attribute the passing of the crown to the Spanish Hapsburgs to the same insane waywardness of disposition which had induced the King to undertake the African expedition, against the advice of his most able counsellors.

All over the fatal field of Alcazer, sanguinary carnage prevailed. The Portuguese, absolutely enveloped by countless squadrons of Moorish horse,

* Jornada de Africa, Barbosa de Machado, t. 3, cap. 17. De Thou, also contemporary with these events, liv. 65. Cayet. A parallel fate was that of the first Condé on the plains of Jarnac.

were massacred in heaps. The Xerife Mahomet el Negro, seeing that all was lost, fled for his life ; his escape being facilitated by a Moor formerly in his service. His design, it was supposed, was to reach the coast off Arzilla, where part of the Portuguese fleet anchored ; but in crossing the deep and rapid river Mucacen, Mahomet was carried down the stream, and drowned.* Thus three sovereigns perished at this fatal battle of the 4th of August, 1578. During the fight, according to the relations of the Portuguese chroniclers, supernatural tokens flamed forth in the heavens, and mysterious wailings were heard, for which none could account.

Victory having now crowned the Moorish arms, Hamet eagerly approached the litter of the Xerife Muley-Maluc, to congratulate, and rejoice with him for this notable triumph. The body-guard, however, stood around the litter, mute, with downcast eyes, and with arms reversed. The captain of the renegadoes, Mahomet, threw back the curtains of the litter, and uncovered the face of the dead Xerife. Hamet, in a transport of grief, cast himself on the body of his brother, and remained for some minutes, absorbed by his lamentations, until the shouts of the troops in the vicinity hailed him as Xerife. Hamet then rose, and commanded proclamation to be made of the demise of Muley-Maluc ; and directed that the

* Historia Cronologica, etc., cap. 69. Bibl. Imp. Ancien F. F. 10,254, Como Muley Maluco morréo da infermidada ; ao Xerife afogado no Rio ; e el Rey Dom Sebastiaõ fu achado morto.

victorious soldiers should pass before the litter, and view the remains of their late able, and popular monarch. He then repaired to the tent of the deceased Xerife, assumed the royal emblems, and received the homage, and recognition of the chief Moorish, and Turkish officers. Hamet next commanded his Portuguese prisoners to be marshalled; and preceded by these his unfortunate captives, he perambulated the battle-field, upon which lay eight thousand Christian corpses.* The following day, the Xerife issued a proclamation, commanding the Moorish soldiers to deliver up their Portuguese captives of note, promising himself to pay their ransom. The little Duque de Barcelos and Don Nunez de Mascarenhas, were then delivered to Hamet, who treated his prisoners with chivalrous courtesy.†

Hamet then held inquisition on the fate of King Don Sebastian. Don Nunez de Mascarenhas was engaged in making relation of this event, which he had witnessed, at twilight hour, August 5th, in the tent of the Xerife, when a tumult was heard without, mingled with wails, and mournful cries. All the persons in the tent, including Hamet himself, hastened to the portal to ascertain the cause of the unwonted sounds. They beheld a Moorish soldier

* De Thou, liv. 65. Cabrera, lib. 12.

† Ibid. Jornada de Africa, Hieronymo de Mendoza. The Duke of Barcelos was the father of Juan IV. of Braganza, King of Portugal, who wrested the Portuguese crown from the grasp of the degenerate descendants of Philip II.

approach, leading a horse, across which was thrown what was alleged to be the naked body of King Sebastian, which had been discovered, thus despoiled of raiment and armour, on the battle-field. At this deplorable sight, the spectators melted into tears. The corpse, the following day, was examined and washed by the surgeon-in-chief to the Portuguese court, Sebastian de Resenda ; but the body was in so advanced a stage of decomposition from exposure for thirty-eight hours on the burning African plain, that it was no longer possible to recognise the features of the dead cavalier. Nevertheless, five captive cavaliers, besides Mascarenhas, boldly identified the body as that of their late sovereign lord, and took oath accordingly. These personages were Melchior Amiralo, Don Constantino de Braganza, Don Ferdinando de Castro, Conde de Obasto ; Don Miguel de Noronha, and Don Duarte de Meneses, Conde de Tarobes. Don Nunez de Mascarenhas, however, who deposed to having witnessed the death of the King, was the principal agent in the identification of the royal remains. This cavalier proposed to ransom the body of the King. Hamet at first asked, as its price, the surrender of all the Portuguese forts on the coast of Barbary. The cavaliers replied "that such cession could be granted only by the Portuguese council." The Xerife thereupon commanded the body of the King to be inclosed in a chest, sealed with the royal seal, which was deposited

in an apartment of the castle of Alcazer, pending his decision on its ultimate destination.*

The booty captured from the pillage of the Portuguese camp was enormous; while the aggregate of the sum demanded for the ransom of the numerous illustrious captives, amounted to 400,000 cruzados. The Xerife, meantime, by the advice of his late brother's minister, the renegade Redouano, abandoned the design of besieging the forts and towns appertaining to the Portuguese, but retired to Fez, to show himself to his people, and to take solemn possession of his empire. The body of Mahomet el Negro was recovered at low tide, and brought to the victorious Xerife. Hamet caused the body to be salted, stuffed with straw, and exhibited in every town of the Moorish dominions of Fez and Morocco.† He next sent a solemn embassy to Philip II. to notify the demise of Muley-Maluco, and his own accession. Hamet expressed his anxiety to remain on friendly terms with the Spaniards. As a propitiatory offering, he gave liberty to the Spanish ambassador, Don Juan de Sylva: he also promised the body of Sebastian to King Philip; and the liberty of the young Duque de Barcelos, whom the Xerife termed "a boy of noble promise and valour."

The Admiral of the fleet, Diogo de Sousa, meantime received notice of the disastrous overthrow

* Salazar de Mendoza—Monarquia de España, lib. 5.

† De Thou, liv. 65.

from Luis de Mesquita, Governor of Arzilla. Don Luis counselled the Admiral to abstain from attack on the Moorish forts; to remain off the Barbary coast for a few days, to pick up fugitives; and then to make all sail for the city of Lisbon. This advice was followed by Don Diogo. The return of the fleet spread panic throughout the realm. After touching at Cape St. Vincent, the Admiral made direct for the capital, and communicated with the Regents. The disastrous news was concealed from the public during eight days, in order to allow the Cardinal Don Henrique, now King of Portugal, to arrive from Alcobaça, where he was living in seclusion. Don Pedro de Alcazova, however, sent secret tidings of the overthrow of the Portuguese army, and the death of the King, to Philip II.; whose ultimate seizure of the Lusitanian crown on the demise of the old Cardinal-King, was foreseen by that wily minister.

The greatest depression, meanwhile, reigned in Lisbon, during the interval of suspense to which the people were doomed by the cautious policy of their rulers. Evil tidings being anticipated, trade was suspended, and the churches crowded with suppliants. When the fatal intelligence was published, the people mourned with frantic grief, the loss of their King, and the stain inflicted on the glory of the Portuguese arms. There was scarcely a noble family in the realm which bewailed not the death, or the captivity of its most promising members:

the nobles were decimated; and the survivors impoverished by the ransoms they were compelled to provide to rescue their sons from captivity. This depression of the patricians of the realm, promoted the subsequent usurpation of Philip II. Mourning, desolation, and disgrace, had fallen on the fair realm of Portugal.

The Cardinal-King, Don Henrique, was absorbed in prayer in the convent chapel of Alcobaça, on the fatal 4th of August. Suddenly, it is recorded, that the ensanguined form of Cardinal Don Inigo Manoel stood before the prelate while he prayed. The phantom uttered the words, "In the kingdom of this world we have lost all; in the kingdom of Heaven, glory in the Highest is gained!" and vanished. Cardinal Don Henrique then summoned his confessor, to meditate with him on this mystic vision.* A few days solved their perplexity; and the Cardinal, first hailed as King by the wealthy community, set out for Lisbon. On the 28th of August, Don Henrique was escorted to the Cathedral, where, in the presence of the peers, and great officers of state surviving, the Regents deposited in his hands the emblems of royalty, amid the tears, and forebodings of the people.†

Still more comforting assurances of the felicity and glory of the slain was afforded to their surviving relatives by the wonderful vision of the abbess of the con-

* Barbosa de Machado, Hist. de Dom Sebastião, Rey de Portugal, cap. 19, t. 3.

† Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa—Tercera Parte. De Thou, liv. 65.

vent of Madre Dios, Doña Benta de Aguilar, which record was printed, and circulated throughout the peninsula. The holy nun, while in an ecstacy of devotion, at midnight, in her church, on the 4th of August, heard a voice uttering the words—"*Beati mortui, qui in Domino morientur:*" thereupon, sounds of battle, the shrieks and cries of wounded men, and the clash of weapons, fell on the terrified ear of the saintly recluse; then her eyes beheld the vision of a field strewn with corpses, and crimsoned with gore. A voice uttered again the words—"*Judicia Domini abyssus multa!*" The abbess, quailing with terror, raised her eyes in earnest prayer, and beheld the glory of Heaven, towards which legions of saintly forms were rising, clothed in glittering raiment, with palms in their hands. Again the angelic voice proclaimed, in tones which shook the sacred edifice—"*Modo coronatur!*"* The famous Sta. Theresa, from her convent at Avila, also sent assurances of the beatification of the entire Christian army—glorious martyrs of the plains of Tamita. So intense and general, however, was the impression that King Don Sebastian had escaped alive from the slaughter, that no devotee, in her ecstatic transports, deposed to having witnessed the royal apotheosis amid that of the beatified slain.

King Philip received the intelligence of the rout of the Portuguese army, and the death of his nephew, at the Escorial. It has been surmised, on strong

* Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa. Barbosa, cap. 19, t. 3.

probability, that Philip knew of the catastrophe before the message sent by Don Pedro de Alcazova, by a secret missive transmitted from Africa by Don Nunez de Mascarenhas, always the staunch adherent of the Spanish King. Philip immediately returned to Madrid, and shut himself up in the great Jeromite convent; while Queen Doña Aña repaired to the splendid seclusion of Las Descalzas Reales, a convent founded by the mother of the ill-fated Sebastian.*

The body of Don Sebastian was delivered by the Xerife Muley-Hamet, at the prayer of Philip II., to Denis de Pereira, Governor of Ceuta, on the 10th of December, 1578, when the coffin was deposited in the church of the monastery of La Santissima Trinidad, in that city. In 1582, by order of Philip II., King of the Spains and of Portugal, the royal remains were transported to Lisbon. One of the first ceremonials participated in by Don Philip, after his pompous entry as King into Lisbon, was the pageant of the funeral obsequies of Don Sebastian, who was laid in the royal mausoleum of his ancestors, in the Church of Nossa Senhora de Belem.†

* Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquia de España, lib. 5. Cabrera, Felipe Segundo, lib. 12.

† Ste. Marthe, Hist. de la Royale Maison de France, t. 2. Généalogie des Rois de Portugal.

CHAPTER IV.

1578—1603.

KING DON SEBASTIAN—PRETENDERS TO HIS CROWN.

After the fall of the Conde de Vimiosa, and of Don Christavaõ de Tavora, King Don Sebastian was left surrounded by his enemies, Don Nunez de Mascarenhas alone surviving of the valiant body-guard. At this point, the majority of Portuguese historians conclude their own narrative of the fight of Alcazer-Quiber, and in their relation of subsequent events, pointedly quote the Spanish version of the death of their gallant young King. "Don Sebastian," relates one of the most noted chroniclers of these events, "fighting valiantly, encircled by barbarian multitudes, suddenly disappeared from the eyes of men, leaving posterity equally in doubt of the reality of his death, or of the truth, that his life was not sacrificed."*

Meanwhile, Cardinal Don Henrique assumed the government of the realm of Portugal, as King. Ten days after the ceremony of his assumption of royal attributes, a monk from a noted Jeromite monastery, in the vicinity of Lagos, and well-known to the

* Memorias del Rey Don Sebastiaõ par Barbosa de Machado, cap. 17, t. 3. "E envolto naõ barbara multidaõ desappareceo aos olhos de todos, deixando a posteridade igualmente dividosa da sua vida, como da sua morte."

newly proclaimed King, sought private audience of his Majesty. This request being granted, the monk, whose name was Manoel Antonez, confided to Don Henrique the startling intelligence that Don Sebastian was not killed in the conflict of Alcazer; but was then an inmate of their monastery, and dangerously ill from the severity of the wounds which he had received in battle. As a guarantee of the truth of this statement, Antonez gave in a written confirmation, signed by the Prior of the monastery. He further stated that, sick and broken-hearted at the disgrace of his overthrow by the Infidel, Don Sebastian had no present intention of resuming his sceptre, until time had allayed the poignancy of his grief; and when, by the grace of God, he should have achieved renown in distant countries by deeds which might atone for the shame of his late overthrow. It was likewise testified that the Duque de Aveiro and Don Christavaõ de Tavora had also survived the slaughter—the King, and these personages escaping in the following manner :—When Don Sebastian was struck to the ground by the sabre stroke of Mustapha Pique, the blow was not mortal, though the King lay stunned, and insensible for several hours. Don Sebastian heard the exultant cries of victory which echoed throughout the field; and the clash of the Moorish cymbals and clarions, which resounded on the proclamation of the Xerife Muley-Hamet. To save his life from Arab plunderers, Sebastian, it is stated, on reviving from his swoon,

threw aside his armour, and the greater part of his attire, and creeping beneath a heap of slain, lay undiscovered until nightfall. He then rose, and arraying himself in a robe and turban, which he took from the body of a dead Moorish soldier, the King escaped from the battle-field, his life being frequently threatened by the fierce greed of the plunderers of the slain. The King wandered towards the coast; and on the beach, not far from Arzilla, he met with the Duque de Aveiro and Don Christavaõ de Tavora, who had likewise escaped by the adoption of a similar stratagem. The King, and his cavaliers, embraced with tears of mingled joy, shame, and perplexity. After wandering for some hours along the arid coast, exposed to countless perils, Sebastian and his companions came upon a small fishing boat, the owner of which they bribed, by the gift of a rich jewel, worn by the Duque de Aveiro, to put to sea. The fugitives encountered a tempest, which nearly wrecked their frail bark; but after much vicissitude they landed, in miserable suffering, on the coast of Algarve, where Sebastian, having become insensible from the torture of his wounds, was conveyed by his companions to the monastery, where he was recognised, and reverently received by the Prior.* The monk, Manoel Antonez, was thereupon dispatched to Lisbon with the intelligence. King Henry instantly imparted the communication to Philip II., with whom he was on terms of friendly

* Victor Palma Cayet, Chronologie Septénaire, Ann. 1601.

intimacy, being an ardent admirer of the political and religious principles of his Catholic Majesty. Philip advised caution and secrecy; but expressed utter disbelief that Sebastian had escaped the slaughter—the more so, as the Xerife Muley-Hamet had just proposed to present him with the body of the fallen King, which had been identified by six noble cavaliers. Philip is said, nevertheless, to have counselled, that as the Pretender made no present claim to the crown, it would be politic not to discuss the question of the legitimacy of his pretensions, but to suffer him to pursue his travels unmolested. This advice was followed. King Henry dismissed the messenger, and entered into no controversy with the *soi-disant* Don Sebastian; who, as soon as his wounds healed, sailed from Portugal, attended by the Duque de Aveiro, and by Don Christavaõ de Tavora.

The reign of Don Henrique was brief, lasting only seventeen months. During this interval, the claims of future rival competitors for the crown harassed the repose of the feeble Cardinal-King. All the male legitimate descendants of Emmanuel the Great were extinct: the personages between whom the disputed succession rested were Philip II., the son of the eldest daughter of King Emmanuel; and the Duchess of Braganza, the daughter of the Duke de Guimaraens, youngest son of Emmanuel. The other claimants were the Prince of Parma, son of the

* Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa - Tercera Parte. Monarquia de España, lib. 5. Salazar de Mendoza.

eldest sister of the Duchess de Braganza, who, however, being a foreign prince, was excluded by the great charter of Lamego; and the Duke of Savoy, son of the youngest daughter of Emmanuel the Great. Queen Catherine de' Medici also put in a fabulous claim, which being universally ridiculed, ended by the King of France espousing the cause of Don Antonio Prior of Crato, illegitimate son of the popular Duque de Bejar, whom the Portuguese united in demanding for their future King.* The Cardinal-King, it is said, aware of the existence of Sebastian, forbore to pronounce upon the claims of either of the rival candidates; though it was well known that his Majesty desired the future accession of Philip II., whose friendly interference for the rescue of his rich benefices from the avaricious grasp of the secretary Gonzalez, Don Henrique never forgot. The Cardinal-King, likewise, disliked King Sebastian, by whom he deemed himself to have been treated with insolent ingratitude. Moreover, he believed that the realm of Portugal was likely to be ruined by the adventurous, and undisciplined temper of the young King. Actuated, therefore, partly by feelings of personal aversion, and partly by patriotic motives, Don Henrique died, January 31st, 1580, carrying with him to the grave the communication made by Manoel Antonez, and leaving no written statement of such incident.

* Sousa, Hist. Portuguesa—Tercera Parte. Monarquia de España, lib. 5. Salazaro de Mendoza.

Philip II. immediately claimed the crown of Lusitania; and sent the Duke of Alva to take possession of the realm; and to drive thence his rival claimant, Don Antonio, who, by the aid of the people, had been enabled to take the field against the Spaniards. The battle of Alcantara defeated the hopes of the nation, and drove Don Antonio into exile.* In 1582, therefore, King Philip arrived in Lisbon, and was recognised as their liege by the people. His Majesty quickly disposed of the claims of his most formidable opponents, by publicly solemnising the obsequies of King Don Sebastian; and by confirming the Duque de Braganza, husband of the true heiress to the crown † in his functions as Constable of Portugal, in tenure from the crown of Spain; which the latter, to escape proscription and the confiscation of his appanages, was glad to accept.

During these events, Don Sebastian travelled over Europe, Africa, and Asia, visiting the colonial possessions of Portugal, and fighting under the Persian standard against the Turks. He visited the Grand Llama of Thibet and Prester-John in Ethiopia, meeting with marvellous perils, and adventures. During these wanderings, the companions of the *soi-disant* King, the Duque de Aveiro, and Don Christa-

* Sousa, Hist. Portugueza—Tercera Parte. De Thou, Hist. de son Temps, liv. 70. Docum. Ineditos, liv. 33, sobre la conquista de Portugallo.

† Doña Catherina de Portugal, youngest daughter of Don Duarte duque de Guimaraens.

vaõ de Tavora died, worn out by fatigues, and by maladies arising from the wounds received at Alcazer. The King then retired to a hermitage in the Georgian wilderness, where he dwelt until the year 1597, in the practice of rigid austerities, his sole companion being an aged hermit. A remarkable dream, or vision, then induced Sebastian to quit his beloved solitude, repair to Europe, and claim his crown. He accordingly landed in Sicily, from whence he dispatched one Marco Tullio Catizoni, to carry letters into Portugal, addressed to divers noblemen, who had formerly demonstrated especial devotion to his person. This Catizoni was arrested on landing in Portugal, and never more heard of; but the tidings of which he was the bearer, by some unknown channel, transpired throughout Portugal. The sensation was profound; and if the personage who, whether truly or falsely, claimed to be their King, had landed in Portugal, the nation, to a man, would have acknowledged his rights. Old prophecies were turned up, and applied by the enthusiastic people; who "would have acknowledged a negro to be their lost King, so that he delivered them from the hated rule of the Spaniards." A prediction made in the sixth century by St. Isidore was especially pondered over:—*Occultus Rex, bis pie datus, in Hispaniam veniet in equo ligneo, quem multi videntes, illum esse non credent.* Another Castillian saint had also prophesied thus:—*Vendrà el Incubierto, vendrà cierto:*

entrara en el huerto * *por el puerto, questa mas aca del muro. Y los que parasce oscuro, se vera claro y abierto*—a prediction which the Portuguese held that after events verified. Agitation, however, was sternly repressed by King Philip and his viceroy; and during the life of the King, "whose dagger often followed his smile," no further enterprise was sanctioned by the royal exile of Palermo. Two Pretenders, however, on the strength of the rumours current, tried to excite commotion in Portugal—the one a pastrycook of Madrigalejos, the other a shoemaker of Trancoso—the latter being patronised by a famous Dominican monk, named Miguel de los Santos, formerly preacher to Queen Catherina. These personages, and the Dominican, were seized by Philip's ruthless executive, and hanged, without form or process, on the scene of their attempted revolts. The rumour of these incidents at length penetrated to the interior of the Jeromite convent in the Algarves in which Don Sebastian had sought refuge on landing after his return from Africa. The monk, Manoel Antonez, survived, with memory still unimpaired by the toilsome years which had elapsed since he undertook his momentous mission to the Cardinal-King. Antonez, again, it is said, travelled to Lisbon, where he had audience of the Cardinal-Viceroy Albert, who was on the eve of resigning his

* "El huerto" was interpreted to mean the region between Monte Calpé and Guadalquiver, which, from its fertility, was called "el huerto de España;" and the *soi-disant* Don Sebastian, when he was brought to Spain, landed at St. Lucar de Barameda.

ecclesiastical and viceregal functions for that of commander-in-chief over Flanders. By command of Albert, Antonez repaired to Madrid, where, after one audience of Philip II. at the Escorial, he was no more heard of; and his superiors never knew whether their envoy was dead, or had enrolled himself a member of one of the great Jeromite communities of Spain.

During this interval, Don Sebastian had fallen into the lowest straits of indigence, being robbed and maltreated by his servant, and receiving none of the succours which he expected from Portugal. On the demise of Philip II., 1599, he begged his way to Padua, where he took up his lodging in a miserable garret, which he shared with a Cypriot, who earned his bread by selling pies in the street, and again betook himself to a life of devout meditation. The pretensions of his fellow-lodger were, however, bruited abroad by the Cypriot; and soon the Portuguese residents in Padua flocked to gaze upon him who claimed to be their King. The legitimacy of his pretensions was presently admitted: the majesty of demeanour conspicuous in the aspect of the needy wayfarer, his wounds, and his reminiscences of the past, convinced these personages that the hero of Alcazer, Don Sebastian, in very deed stood before them. With one accord, therefore, they fell at his feet and saluted him as King. Pecuniary aids flowed in abundance from thenceforth; and plenty and repose, solaced the saddened spirit of the

soi-disant King. The Spanish ambassador at Venice, however, when apprised of the event, summoned the senate to suppress such demonstrations; and to banish an "insolent adventurer," who presumed to lay claim to one of the kingdoms of their potent ally, Don Philip III.

The Seignory, therefore, issued an edict, commanding the Podesta of Padua to banish from his city, within the space of three days, "a man calling himself falsely, Sebastian, King of Portugal." Sebastian, therefore, on this mandate being communicated, boldly resolved to repair to Venice, and challenge the Seignory to investigate, and decide upon his royal claims; a duty which properly devolved on the only free tribunal in Europe. The unfortunate man no sooner entered Venice, than, at the suit of the Spanish ambassador, he was seized and cast into a dungeon, being accused of odious crimes by paid informers, agents of the ambassador. No better course could have been taken to publish the pretensions of the prisoner throughout the length, and breadth of Europe. The Portuguese who had acknowledged his claims presented memorial after memorial to the Seignory; while a Dominican, named Sampayo, whose influence in Padua was great, wrote and published a statement of facts, dedicated to the potentates of Europe. The Spaniards, on their part, averred that the *soi-disant* Sebastian was an infamous impostor. They alleged "that he was a Calabrese by birth, of bad repute, if not a renegade monk;"

that his story was a tissue of improbabilities; and that it was not likely the true King, had he escaped the massacre in Africa, would have roamed over the world for twenty-three years, without affording some intimation of his escape, and of his intention of hereafter asserting his rights. They objected that the Pretender could not speak pure Portuguese; that his complexion was dark, while that of Sebastian was fair; and that he did not bear the bodily marks, some of them peculiar, which distinguished the true King. Sampayo replied, that the character of Don Sebastian, and his youthful pride, and self-dependence were likely to mislead and betray him into the romantic, and Quixotic adventures now revealed—especially while smarting under the disgrace of defeat by infidel arms; and that it was not surprising that the complexion, or the accent of a man who had traversed sultry climes, and spent years in the solitudes of the Georgian deserts, should be altered.*

The prisoner, meantime, was treated with severity, and was subjected to twenty-eight interrogatories. The precision of his replies, the knowledge of events, and the capacity of the accused, however, astonished his examiners. He declared himself willing to suffer death if his pretensions were proved to be false; and he petitioned that an examination might be made into the personal marks by which his opponents

* Cayet, Chron. Septénaire, Ann. 1601. De Thou, liv. 126. The prisoner stated that it was his intention to proceed to Rome, and lay his claims before the Consistory. Mendoza, Monarquia de España, Vida de Don Felipe III.

declared that they should recognise King Sebastian, not one of which, he averred, would be found wanting on his own body. This petition being clamorously supported by all the Portuguese residents in the Venetian territory, its prayer was granted; and Sampayo was actually dispatched with a safe-conduct to Lisbon, to ascertain these distinctive marks, which were to be stated in writing, and signed by competent personages. Sampayo acquitted himself of his mission; and returned, after an absence of two months, with a writing, attested by persons who had been attached to the household of Don Sebastian, and signed by the apostolical notary, who thus vouched that the document was genuine. Philip's ambassador, meantime, continued his angry protests, and reproached the Seignory for the evil offices they were rendering to his Catholic Majesty, by affording even the semblance of countenance to the impostor. The Doge, therefore, on the return of Sampayo, stated, "that he had asked counsel, and was satisfied that it behoved not the Republic to take cognizance of the claims of the Pretender to the Portuguese Crown, unless at the request of a member of the family of European potentates." Application was then made to the Dutch ambassador to procure the friendly intervention of the House of Nassau. Sampayo even undertook a journey to the Hague, to lay certain important documents before Prince Maurice. His petition was there supported by Don Christavaõ de Portugal, younger son of the Prior of

Crato, by Don Sebastian Figueroa, and last, though not least in influence, by Henri Quatre, King of France, whose interest had been strongly kindled by the reports sent to him by M. du Fresnes Cannaye, his ambassador in Venice. Thus solicited, the States of Holland addressed letters to the Seignory, praying the Republic to take cognizance of the affair, which were delivered to the Doge in person, by Don Christavaõ de Portugal. At the same time the French ambassador intimated that the sympathy of his royal master had been powerfully enlisted for the unhappy prisoner; and that, if the intercession of the Dutch failed, French protection would be afforded to the *soi-disant* Don Sebastian. The Spanish ambassador, thereupon, after a conference with the Council, withdrew his protest; and commissioners were nominated to verify, upon the person of the prisoner, certain bodily peculiarities which were once conspicuous on that of the King.* These marks were stated to be—first, a right hand longer, and larger than the left; the upper part of the arms longer than the part between the elbow to the wrist; a deep scar above the right eyebrow; a tooth missing from the lower jaw; and a large excrescence or wart, on the instep of the right foot. Sampayo, and four Venetian officers of justice, were ordered to make this investigation. They reported that all

* Cayet. De Thou, liv. 126. A book was also published by a hidalgo of the House of Castro, entitled "Discurso da Vida do sempre bem apparecido Rey Don Sebastiaõ—containing a minute account of the travels, and deportment, and sayings of the Pretender.

these defects were conspicuous on the prisoner: moreover, that his head and face were seamed with scars from sabre wounds; and that, while his jaw was being examined, he had asked whether Sebastian Nero, barber at the court of Lisbon, who had extracted the tooth, was still living?"

The following day the evidence was laid before the Venetian Senate, who deliberated for four days with closed doors, in the presence of Don Christavaõ de Portugal, and the Spanish ambassador. Strong opinions were formed and expressed; but the power and menaces of Philip III. intimidated the Pregadi. At ten o'clock at night, on the fourth day of the conference, the prisoner was transported to the senate, and placed before his judges. Sampayo, and the Portuguese who attended him, testify that a seat was given to the prisoner; and that he heard the decree sitting and covered, while the senators respectfully stood around. The decree, however, gave no opinion, or decision respecting the identity of the prisoner with Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; but simply reiterated the award previously forwarded to the Podesta of Padua, which banished the individual calling himself a King, from the Venetian territory within the space of three days. This evasion, after the senate had been assembled with solemn forms to pronounce on the identity of the prisoner; and the respectful deference shown towards the latter, gave tenfold vigour to the belief that he was no other than the true Sebastian. It

was alleged that the menaces of the Spanish monarch had prevented the Pregadi from rendering a conscientious and just award; and that they reluctantly agreed not to acknowledge rights, which Sebastian himself had been content to forego for twenty-three years; as, by so doing, they would imperil the peace of Europe, involve the Republic with its most potent ally, and kindle civil war throughout Portugal. The senate, however, honourably refused to deliver up the prisoner to the Spanish ambassador. Philip had a more obsequious and needy ally in the Grand Duke of Tuscany; who, on bad terms with his rival in Italy the Duke of Savoy, and perplexed by a long standing feud with his brother, Don Piero de' Medici, who had appealed to the protection of Spain, had potent reasons for conciliating the favour of his Catholic Majesty. An agreement, therefore, had been concluded with Duke Ferdinand, that if "the adventurer" entered the Tuscan dominions, after his expulsion from Venice, he should be at once arrested, and transferred to the custody of the Conde de Lemos, Spanish viceroy of Naples.* Sampayo, and other Portuguese cavaliers, meantime, organised the secret flight of the *soi-disant* King; as it was their intention to effect a landing in Algarve, after conveying Don Sebastian to Rome, where it was hoped he might obtain the protection, and the recognition of his claims by the Supreme Pontiff,

* De Thou. Sousa, Hist. Portugueza, Tercera Parte. Cayet, Chron. Septénaire.

Clement VIII. Meantime, on leaving the senate, Sebastian, under the protection of Sampayo, sought temporary refuge in the great Dominican monastery in Venice. The following night, in the disguise of a monk of the Order, he was placed in a gondola, and landed near Padua; from whence, as had been anticipated, he continued his journey on foot into the Tuscan territory. He arrived safely at Florence, and, according to some chroniclers, was privately received by the Grand Duke. From Florence, Sebastian proceeded to Orbitello, where Spanish myrmidons awaited him. In attempting to embark at nightfall at that port, he was seized, gagged, and conveyed on board a small frigate lying in the offing, which immediately made sail for Naples. Sampayo and the rest of his adherents then took to flight; and succeeded in reaching again the Venetian territory.*

The after fate of the personage calling himself Don Sebastian was brief and mournful; though, on his arrest, a formidable faction in Portugal arose, and maintained his royal claims. Many incidents, and much evidence, seemed to confirm the assertions of the *soi-disant* King. But one cavalier had witnessed the death of Don Sebastian on the field of Alcazer; and Nunez de Mascarenhas was ever notorious for

* De Thou, No. 126. Galuzzi, Historia del Granducato de Toscana, lib. 5. De Castro, Hist. de Portugallo. Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat—"On blâme grandement son Altesse de Toscane de ce fait, qui ne lui profitera pas tant envers les Espagnols, comme il lui nuira envers le commun des autres," writes the Cardinal from Rome—Lettre 254.

his Spanish partialities, and his zeal for Philip II. The identification of the body brought to the tent of the Xerife Muley-Hamet, and said to be the corpse of the King, could not be satisfactorily made; and when, after its transport into Portugal, the bier was opened by command of his Catholic Majesty, but a handful of dust, and a few bones remained. The fact, that twenty-three years had elapsed since the fatal field of Alcazer, during which nothing positive had been ascertained of the alleged escape of Don Sebastian, or of that of the Duque de Aveiro, and Don Christavaõ de Tavora, however, militated fatally against the universal reception of the story. Masses for the repose of the soul of the Duke de Aveiro had been celebrated by his kindred of Alencastro; who, although the duke's body was never recovered, entertained no doubt of the truth of his demise. It was alleged that a cavalier of mature age, dignity, and experience, like the duke, who had filled high offices under the Portuguese crown during preceding reigns, never would have joined in so romantic, and unpatriotic a flight; or, if compelled to do so by his royal master, would have found means to apprise his countrymen of the rescue of their King, and have made satisfactory deposition of the fact. Although all the Portuguese colonies were said to have been visited by the King and his companions, no trace of such sojourn could be discovered; though the Viceroy of the Indies, Don Pedro de Almeida, was a near kinsman of the Duque de Aveiro, and had been a

trusted, and favoured servant of King Don Sebastian. The Portuguese people, however, vehemently maintained that the story of the Pretender was valid; and there is little doubt that, as a nation, they would have tendered him allegiance, but for the strong grasp of Spain.

That Philip III. and his ministers had some misgivings must be concluded from the extraordinary care with which the prisoner was guarded: and the careful suppression of every document, and minute of evidence tendered. The bare facts of the pretensions, persecutions, and fate of this claimant of a crown, so long coveted and eagerly appropriated by the Spanish Hapsburgs, therefore, alone remain, upon which to form an opinion of the veracity of his statements.

The unhappy prisoner, on his arrival at Naples, was incarcerated in a dungeon of the Castel del Ovo, and kept without food for three days, to compel him to avow his imposture. It is related that he found a knife, and a rope in the cell—significant of the alternatives to be offered him; or placed there in the hope that, in a moment of despair, his suicide might relieve the Spanish government from solicitude. At the expiration of the three days the prisoner was visited by the Neapolitan Auditor-General, by command of the Viceroy, who exhorted him to recant, and to confess his fraud. "Do with me as you please, and say what you will, I am King Sebastian," replied the prisoner, firmly. "I pray God that He

will preserve me from the crime of perjury, or from asserting an untruth. I am that miserable Don Sebastian, who, for his sins and his folly, lost against the Infidel that great battle: it is the truth, and nothing can compel me to deny it." A few days subsequently, the prisoner was conducted before the Viceroy, who had been accredited as ambassador to the court of Lisbon previous to the luckless African campaign. Don Sebastian, it is averred, revealed to the Conde de Lemos * certain political transactions which had then occurred, much to the amazement of the Viceroy; who, however, at the close of the audience reiterated his conviction that, "the prisoner was an impostor." Don Sebastian, nevertheless, was subsequently taken from his dungeon, and placed in a pleasant chamber, having a window which overlooked the Bay of Naples, and the sum of five crowns daily was assigned for his support. For one year his prison was thus ameliorated; when, upon the arrival of a mandate from Madrid, consequent on some insurrectionary movement in the Algarves, Don Sebastian was again cast into his dungeon, and commanded to confess his origin, and his confederates, in his fraudulent pretensions. With extraordinary constancy the prisoner continued to protest the right, and the legitimacy of his cause; and petitioned to be conveyed to Lisbon, where his statements might be

* The Conde de Lemos succeeded the Conde de Olivarez, as viceroy of Naples. His wife was the sister of the Cardinal-Minister Duque de Lerma.

subjected to rigid investigation. Sentence, however, was pronounced upon him as "a vagabond, impostor, and liar." Don Sebastian was condemned to the galleys for life, after being first paraded through the streets of Naples sitting on an ass, while the public crier proclaimed his crime. This accordingly was done on the 17th of April, 1602. "Behold the justice and severity of his Catholic Majesty! He commands that this miserable man shall be degraded and condemned for life to the galleys, because he falsely, and flagitiously declares himself to be the late Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, when he is but a vile impostor from Calabria!" Such was the proclamation made while the prisoner traversed the streets of Naples. He was then publicly clothed in the dress of a galley slave, amid his repeated asseverations of the truth of his statements. "I am in the hands of my enemies—the men who have appropriated my crown and substance," said he. "I commend my soul and body to God Almighty, who created me, and who knows that I have spoken the truth." * His head was then shaved, irons were placed on his feet and hands, and he was conveyed to the galley, and put to the oar. This done, the vessel departed for St. Lucar de Barameda, a port, at this period, the largest convict establishment of the Spains. During the voyage, the prisoner was

* Cayet, Chron. Sep. Ann. 1602.

relieved from his irons, and no longer compelled to labour at the oar. On the arrival of the galley at St. Lucar, in August, 1602, the Duke and Duchess de Medina Sidonia, who had there so magnificently entertained King Don Sebastian on his voyage to Africa, desired to see the prisoner, and to converse with him. The prisoner, it is related, was not recognised by the duke, who purposely one morning went on board the galley, having previously desired that the alleged Don Sebastian should be placed amongst other felons on the prow of the vessel. Sebastian, however, afterwards had an interview with the duke and his consort, and related many anecdotes of his former visit. He asked the duke whether he had the sword which he had then presented to him? saying, that he would identify it, if conducted to the ducal armoury. Thereupon the duke called for a dozen swords, which were laid before the prisoner. "My sword, Duque, is not amongst these!" said Don Sebastian. The duke upon this sent back his majordomo, giving him secret commands to bring the true sword once worn by the gallant Don Sebastian, and which was enshrined as a precious relic in the armoury of the castle of Medina. The weapon was instantly recognised, and unsheathed by the prisoner. The latter then addressed the duchess, and reminded her that King Sebastian had given her a valuable ring as a memento of his visit, and asked whether she still

treasured the relic? Doña Aña,* upon this sent for her *baguière*, and opening it, requested the prisoner to point out the ring, which he selected from amongst more than a hundred. The Duke and Duchess de Medina Sidonia, thereupon, it is related, retired very pensive and sorrowful from the interview, and doubtful of the issue of such an unjust detention. These personages, nevertheless, seem to have made no effort to ameliorate the lot of the unfortunate prisoner, as it appears that they might have done, from their interest with the Duque de Lerma; and the alliance which was then concluded between the heir of Guzman, and Doña Juana de Sandoval, daughter of the minister.

The unfortunate Don Sebastian was transported from St. Lucar to Seville, where he remained for a few months only, under the surveillance of Don Pedro de Toledo. On the outbreak of riots in different parts of Portugal, owing to the machinations of the Dominican Sampayo, and the preaching of a fanatic Franciscan monk, named Texera, the prisoner was transferred to the fortress of St. Lucar, and summarily hanged from its highest bastion, after the arrival, by express, of a warrant from Madrid, April 20, 1603.† The same

* Doña Aña de Sylva, daughter of the famous Ruy Gomez de Sylva, Prince of Eboli.

† De Thou. Galluzzi—who accuses the *soi-disant* Don Sebastian of trying to incite the officers on board the galleys to revolt on his behalf. "Costui dopo essere stato a Napoli convinto della sua impostura fu condannato alle galere di Spagna: tentando di corrompere gli uffiziali della galera per fuggirsene in Portugallo, nell Aprile, 1603, fu impiccato a San Lucar." Lib. 5.

fate likewise befell the ecclesiastics ; who suffered—Sampayo at Lisbon, and Texera at Coimbra, during the month of August of the same year.

THE END.

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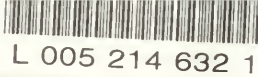
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